Aelia Capitolina –
Jerusalem in the Roman Period

Mnemosyne Supplements

HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY

Series Editor

Jonathan M. Hall (*University of Chicago*)

Associate Editors

Jan Paul Crielaard (*Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam*)
Benet Salway (*University College London*)

VOLUME 432

The titles published in this series are listed at *brill.com/mns-haca*

Aelia Capitolina – Jerusalem in the Roman Period

In Light of Archaeological Research

By

Shlomit Weksler-Bdolah

BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

Cover illustration: Old city of Jerusalem, looking northeast. The Eastern Cardo of Aelia Capitolina (Left side, bottom), The Western Wall Plaza (Right side, bottom) and Dome of the Rock (Right side, upper part). Photo: S. Weksler-Bdolah, Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Weksler-Bdolah, Shlomit, author.
Title: Aelia Capitolina - Jerusalem in the Roman period : in light of archaeological research / Shlomit Weksler-Bdolah.
Other titles: Mnemosyne, bibliotheca classica Batava. Supplementum ; v. 432.
Description: Leiden ; Boston : Brill, 2020. | Series: Mnemosyne supplements : history and archaeology of classical antiquity, 2352-8656 ; volume 432 | Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2019046043 (print) | LCCN 2019046044 (ebook) | ISBN 9789004407336 (hardback) | ISBN 9789004417076 (ebook)
Subjects: LCSH: Romans–Jerusalem–Antiquities. | Excavations (Archaeology)–Jerusalem. | Jerusalem–Antiquities, Roman. | Jerusalem–Buildings, structures, etc. | Jerusalem–History–To 1500.
Classification: LCC DS109.15 .W45 2020 (print) | LCC DS109.15 (ebook) | DDC 956.94/4202–dc23
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2019046043
LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2019046044

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: “Brill”. See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 2352-8656
ISBN 978-90-04-40733-6 (hardback)
ISBN 978-90-04-41707-6 (e-book)

Copyright 2020 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.
Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Hes & De Graaf, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Rodopi, Brill Sense, Hotei Publishing, mentis Verlag, Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh and Wilhelm Fink Verlag.
All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.
Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill NV provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA. Fees are subject to change.

This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

Who has ever seen Jerusalem naked?
Not even the archaeologists.
Jerusalem never gets completely undressed
but always puts on new houses
over the shabby and broken ones.

YEHUDA AMICHAI, Jerusalem 1967, in: *Poems of Jerusalem: a bilingual edition*, Schocken Publishing House, Tel-Aviv 1987:97

∵

Contents

Preface xi
List of Figures and Tables xv
List of Abbreviations xxiv

1 **Introduction** 1
Chronological and Historical Framework 1
History of Research 6
Sources of Information for the Investigation of Aelia Capitolina 14
The Historical Sources 14
The Archaeological Evidence 16

2 **The Camp of the Legio x Fretensis** 19
The Camp's Fortifications and Related Structures 25
Structures, Roads and Installations inside the Camp 32
The Roman Dump on the Slopes of the Southwestern Hill 38
A Few Comments Relating to the Army in Aelia Capitolina 42
Possible Reasons for the Sparsity of Remains of the Roman Army Camp in Jerusalem 42
The Role of the Army in Aelia Capitolina 43
Stamp Impressions of the Legio x Fretensis on Roof Tiles, Bricks and Ceramic Pipes 47

3 **Aelia Capitolina** 51
The Foundation of the Colony 51
The Urban Layout: The City Gates 60
Streets and Plazas 65
The Plaza inside Damascus Gate 65
The Western Cardo 67
The Municipal Forum in the City Center 71
An Ancient Street along Christian Quarter Street 74
The Eastern Cardo 74
The South Decumanus along David Street and the Street of the Chain 96
David Street 96
The Street of the Chain 97
The Northern Decumanus along the Route of the Via Dolorosa 99
The East Forum and the Ecce Homo Arch 100
Summary: The Urban Street System 106

The Buildings of Aelia Capitolina 110
Temples and Ritual Compounds 116
The Temple Mount and the Capitolium of Aelia Capitolina 116
The Temple of Venus/Aphrodite 123
The Cult of Serapis/Asclepius near the Pool of Bethesda 126
Public Buildings in the Southeast of the City 126
Private Dwellings 130

4 **Aelia Capitolina in the Fourth Century** 131
The Expansion of the City's Limits 131
The Construction of a Wide-Circumference City Wall 138
The Identity of the Population 140
The Christianization of the Cityscape 142
Aelia/Hierosolyma in the Fourth Century: Summary and Conclusions 144

5 **Water Supply: Cisterns, Pools and Aqueducts** 147

6 **The City's Cemeteries** 151
The Northern Cemetery 153
The South and Southwest Cemeteries 163
The East Cemetery 166

7 **The Rural Hinterland of Aelia Capitolina** 169
The Imperial Roads 171
The 'Starting Point' of the Imperial Roads 179
Military Sites in the Rural Hinterland of Aelia Capitolina 183
Military Outposts and Stations 183
A Military (?) Water Device near the Western Road 184
A Military Workshop for Pottery and Building Materials 184
Settlements and Residential Buildings 185
Moẓa/Colonia: A Settlement along the Western Road 185
Shuʿfaṭ 187
Betar, Khirbet el-Yahud 187
Two Roman Villas along the Jerusalem–Eleutheropolis Road 189
The Roman Villa of Ramat Raḥel, along the Jerusalem–Hebron Road 194
A Villa on Shuʿfaṭ Ridge, Kh. Er-Ras 194
Rural Cemeteries 195
Manaḥat 195
A Rural Cemetery at Beit Tsafafa 197
The Cemetery of Ramat Raḥel 198

Road Stations 198
The Spring of ʿEin el-Hanniya 198

8 **The City and Its Population 70 CE–c. 400 CE: Discussion and Summary** 201
From Jerusalem to Aelia Capitolina—Aspects of Change and Continuity 201
Urban Topography 201
Building Materials and Pottery in Daily Use 202
Burial Practices 203
Religion and Ritual 204
Epigraphy and Language 205
The Urban Development of Aelia Capitolina In Light of Archaeological Research, a Synthesis 207
Epilogue 209

Bibliography 211
Index 240

Preface

The study of the Roman colony Aelia Capitolina has fascinated scholars of Jerusalem since the nineteenth century. The assumptions of the first researchers, that the current street layout in the Old City of Jerusalem preserves the Roman urban planning and that the area of the Old City more or less overlaps the boundaries of Aelia Capitolina, were questioned as the number of excavations and studies increased. As a rule, a multiplicity of opinions, rather than consensus, characterizes the study of the Roman city. Topics such as the size of the city at the time of its establishment and the location of the Tenth Legion's camp have not yet been ascertained. The researchers disagree about whether and when the city was surrounded by walls and what route the walls followed when they were built. Another fundamental issue relates to the role of the Temple Mount in the Roman period. Some scholars assume that it had a very central role in Aelia Capitolina and that it was the site of the colony's Capitoline Temple, while others claim it was abandoned and was not even considered an integral part of the city.

Due to the paucity of historical sources, the study of Jerusalem in the Roman period must rely on the archaeological finds and indeed, this book's approach is archaeological. It presents the currently known archaeological remains of the Roman period inside the Old City of Jerusalem and in its close vicinity and suggests a reconstruction of the military campsite of the Tenth Roman Legion and the Roman city of Aelia Capitolina from the destruction of the Herodian city of Jerusalem by the Romans in 70 CE until the late fourth–early fifth centuries CE. By that time the city, Christianized in Constantine's reign (324 CE) and subsequently known as Aelia or by its former name of Jerusalem, Hierosolyma, was surrounded by a wide circumference wall. The book focuses on the development of the city as evidenced by the archaeological finds, offering a fresh approach to the investigation of Aelia Capitolina in two main respects. From the chronological point of view, it deviates from the accepted scholarly practice of dividing the period into two: The Roman period (until the Christianization of the city in 324 CE) and the Byzantine period (324–636 CE). The book examines the Roman urban layout from the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE to the time when it reached its maximum size in around 400 CE, when it was encompassed by a city wall. The focus is on the development of the urban layout, although cultural aspects are naturally considered.

Methodologically, the present study is based on a spatial mapping of firmly dated archaeological remains that has enabled the author to present four plans of Jerusalem—dating from around 100 CE, 200 CE, 350 CE and 450 CE.

The plans illustrate the differences between the city's various areas throughout that time and, together with the historical sources, suggest possible explanations for some unsolved issues.

My research was inspired by a course I attended at the Institute of Archaeology at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, which dealt with the archaeology of Jerusalem during the Roman and Byzantine periods. Various issues discussed by Prof. Yoram Tsafrir, the course's teacher, aroused my interest and influenced the continuation of my professional path. My work as an archaeologist with the Israel Antiquities Authority (from the early 1990s onward) has enabled me to participate in archaeological excavations at various sites within and around the Old City of Jerusalem and the fieldwork, together with research issues discussed in the classroom, led to studies that were formulated as a master's thesis (MA), and a doctoral dissertation that was submitted to the Senate of the Hebrew University in December 2011.

In the period that elapsed before the completion of the manuscript for this book (2019), I attempted to expand my research into areas not discussed in the doctoral dissertation. A postdoctoral fellowship from the Institute of Archeology at Tel Aviv University (2013–2014) and the teaching of a course dealing with the subjects discussed in the book contributed greatly to a more precise formulation of the topics to be discussed in it. A research group in which I participated at Yad Ben Zvi, headed by Prof. Yehoshua Ben-Arieh, illuminated different aspects of Jerusalem from its beginnings to the present day and sharpened my views on matters related to Roman Jerusalem. Other archaeological excavations in which I took part during the same years as part of my ongoing work at the Israel Antiquities Authority and recent finds discovered throughout the city of Jerusalem also contributed to the expansion of the database and shed further light on possible areas of discussion. A scholarship from the Israel Antiquities Authority provided me with precious time to complete the manuscript and a scholarship from the Israel Science Foundation enabled the manuscript to be translated from Hebrew to English. In recent years, I have presented and published parts of this research at scientific conferences in Israel and abroad and the subsequent feedback has contributed greatly to my research conclusions.

I would like to thank my dear children Yonatan, Ayelet and Yoav, my husband Yuval and my parents for the many years of support, consideration and love that have enabled me to devote myself to researching and completing the present manuscript.

Special thanks are due to the Israel Antiquities Authority for permission to include photographs and excavation plans from a variety of sites that were investigated by the IAA researchers, and special thanks are extended to fel-

low archaeologists for sharing insights with me from their excavations at various sites throughout Jerusalem, even prior to their final publication. I would like to thank Amit Re'em, Yehiel Zelinger, Annette Landes-Nagar, Danit Levi, Shua Kisilevitz, Rina Avner, Neria Sapir, Yuval Baruch, Ortal Chalaf, Joe Uziel, Tehila Lieberman, Nahshon Szanton, Zubair Adawi, Evgeny D. Kagan, Yiftach Shalev, Irena Zilberbod, David Yeger, Ron Lavi and Moran Hajabi from the IAA's Jerusalem District. I also thank Yana Tchekhanovets, Doron Ben-Ami, Jon Seligman, Rachel Bar-Nathan, Gabriel Mazor, Alon De Groot, Fanny Vito, Gideon Avni, Zvi Greenhut, Yotam Tepper, Yael Gorin-Rosen, Tamar Winter and Briggite Ohunona, Peter Gendelman, and other colleagues from the Research and Specialization Department of the Israel Antiquities Authority. Research seminars and fruitful discussions with colleagues from the Hebrew University and Tel Aviv University contributed greatly to the advancement of research. I thank Orit Peleg-Barkat, Joseph Patrich, Zeev Weiss, Oren Gutfeld, Rina Talgam, Leah Di Segni and Marva Balouka from the Hebrew University, and Guy Stiebel, Yuval Gadot, Oded Lipschits and others from Tel Aviv University. Many more researchers have contributed to clarifying various issues that have emerged during this study and I thank them all for their cooperation. I also gathered a great deal of knowledge from Benjamin Isaac, Renate Rosenthal-Heginbottom, Hannah Cotton, Werner Ak, Avner Ecker, Haim Ben David, Hillel Geva, Dan Bahat, Ronny Reich, Amos Kloner and others.

Special thanks are due to Deborah Manor from Kibbutz Ruhama for her translation and helpful comments in preparing the manuscript, to Silvia Krapiwko, head of the Israel Antiquities Authority Archive Branch, for assistance with locating old photographs and plans, scanning and preparing them for publication, to the library staff of the Israel Antiquities Authority Library at the Rockefeller Museum, Sarit Hassin, Rimma Tulenkov and Leonid Rankov, who helped me a lot, to Hagar Maimon, a graphic artist in the Israel Antiquities Authority, who helped design the illustrations, and to the anonymous readers of the manuscript for their helpful remarks. I thank the editors on behalf of Brill Publishing House for their professionalism and good-natured work.

I would like to dedicate the book to the memory of my father, Amnon Weksler, my teacher Yoram Tsafrir and my colleague Alexander Onn, who passed away during the years of research. Their contribution to this book is invaluable.

My father, Amnon Weksler, taught me from an early age the love of exploring the country by foot and the importance of documenting the details through drawing, photography, or writing. My teacher, Yoram Tsafrir, shared with me a great deal of knowledge in long conversations and fruitful discussions. Many of the topics discussed in this book were influenced to a large extent by the

research approaches that were formulated in these precious meetings. Alexander Onn taught me the 'secrets' of archaeological fieldwork. The great knowledge he shared with me in analyzing the findings we discovered in many excavations enriched me with insights into the investigation and interpretation of an archaeological site. May they all rest in peace.

Figures and Tables

Figures

1 Map of Jerusalem at the end of the Second Temple Period (*NEAEHL* 2:718, courtesy of the Israel Exploration Society). 2

2 Jerusalem in the Madaba Mosaic (Vincent and Abel 1914–1926: Pl. XXX, copied by P.M. Gisler O.S.B). 5

3 The Old City of Jerusalem (Vincent 1912: Pl. III). 7

4 The City Plan of Aelia Capitolina, according to J. Germer-Durand (Germer-Durand 1892:373). 8

5 The camp of the Tenth Legion in Jerusalem according to C.W. Wilson (Wilson 1905). 9

6 The city plan of Aelia Capitolina according to L.H. Vincent (Vincent and Abel 1914: Pl. 1) 10

7 The city plan of Aelia Capitolina at the beginning of the fourth century according to Y. Tsafrir (Tsafrir 1984:60, digital processing and translation of labels, Silvia Krapiwko). 11

8 The camps of the Tenth Legion according to E. Mazar (Mazar 2011a:2, Fig. 1.1.; courtesy of E. Mazar). 12

9 Aelia Capitolina and the military camp of the Tenth Legion according to H. Geva (*NEAEHL* 2:758, courtesy of the Israel Exploration Society). 13

10 Military breadstamp from the Roman dump in the Western Wall Plaza Excavations. Sealing surface, First line: > AMATI (Centuria) Amati(i), Second line: C.ANTONI (Opus) C(aii) Antoni(i). Century) of Amatius. (Work) of Caius Antonius. Reading Leah Di Segni; photo: Clara Amit; courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority. 20

11A Stamp impression of the Tenth Roman Legion on brick: a rectangular impression: LXFRE on a round brick (retrieved in excavations directed by Alexander Onn, on behalf of the IAA, in the Western Wall Tunnels, c. 50 m west of the Temple Mount) (photo: Clara Amit; courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 21

11B Stamp impressions of the Tenth Roman Legion on rooftile: A circular impression, LEG.X.F in the center, with a war galley above the inscription and a wild boar below it (retrieved in excavations directed by Annette Landes-Nagar, on behalf of the IAA, in Hotel Gloria, c. 250 m north of Jaffa Gate, Christian Quarter, Old City) (photo: Clara Amit; courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 22

12 The reconstruction of the Tenth Legion camp in Jerusalem, c. 70–130 CE,

Weksler-Bdolah's proposal, with second–fourth-century findspots (drawing: Natalya Zak; courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 25
13 The arch in Chabad/Jewish Quarter Street. "Bashourah's Gate"; after Vincent and Steve 1954: Fig. 15. 27
14 Reconstruction of the fortifications along St. Mark Street, after Vincent and Steve 1954: Fig. 17. 27
15 Café Bashourah: Four monolithic columns arranged in a square. Looking north (Gutfeld 2012:24, Photo 1.14, courtesy of the Israel Exploration Society). 28
16 Line of fortifications on the slopes of Mt. Zion (Bliss and Dickie 1898: General Plan 1). 30
17 Author's reconstruction of the narrow bridge that connected the legion's camp and the Temple Mount. The reconstruction of the bridge is based on archaeological finds, while the military camp (left) and the ruins of the Temple Mount (right) are for illustrative purposes only (drawing: Yakov Shmidov; courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 36
18 The Eastern Cardo in the Western Wall Plaza excavations, looking southwest. A rock-hewn cliff runs along the west side of the street. Hewn cells (probably shops) are carved at the bottom of the cliff. In the lower right corner: Remains of a seventh-century BCE (Iron Age) building sealed under the Roman street's pavement. Left: Flagstones and portico of the Roman Cardo (photo: S. Weksler-Bdolah; courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 39
19 The Roman dump inside an abandoned quarry along the axis of the Eastern Cardo. Looking north. 40
20 Military breadstamp from the Roman dump in the Western Wall Plaza Excavations: Left: sealing surface; Right: stamp's long side. CASPE (Centuria) Caspe(rii), CANIN (Opus) Canin(ii), (Century) of Casperius. (Work) of Caninius (reading: Leah Di Segni; photo: Clara Amit; courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 40
21 Vessels from the Roman dump in the Western Wall Plaza. A: Fragment of Broneer Type XXI lamp, with left-harnessed horse-head volute preserved; B: wall fragment of drinking vessel, showing seated male figure in pensive mood, identified as Saturn; C: fragment of mold-made jug handle, decorated with Dionysiac motifs: Head of old satyr, panther and bowl of fruit; D: mold-made escutcheon of a wine jug, or pitcher, with image of Eros the hunter (Pottery research: Renate Rosenthal-Heginbottom; photos: Clara Amit; courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 41
22 A coin of Hadrian as founder, wearing a toga and ploughing with a bull and a cow. In background, vexillum; above to right COLAELKAPIT (Colonia Aelia Capitolina), in exergue COND (after Meshorer 1989:70–71, Cat. No. 2; Photo: Elie Posner, courtesy of the Israel Museum, Jerusalem). 52

23 Reconstruction of the monumental inscription in honor of Hadrian. Photo: Elie Posner; courtesy of the Israel Museum, Jerusalem. 57
24 Aelia Capitolina and the camp of the Tenth Legion (tentative location), second–third centuries CE, according to Weksler-Bdolah. (Drawing: Natalya Zak; courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 59
25A The Northern City Gate during the Roman period: Damascus Gate, plan of Hadrian's Gate complex (after Magen 1994:283, courtesy of the Israel Exploration Society). 61
25B The Northern City Gate during the Roman period: Damascus Gate, the eastern Roman Gateway and the Ottoman gateway above it (after Magen 1994:281, courtesy of the Israel Exploration Society). 62
26 Northern city gate, reconstruction of the north façade (after Bahat 2000:56–57, drawing: Leen Ritmeyer, courtesy of Leen Ritmeyer). 63
27 Damascus Gate: Section of pavement in the Roman plaza (after Magen 1994:285, courtesy of the Israel Exploration Society). 66
28 Flagstones of the Western Cardo, along Beit HaBad/Khan e-Zeit street, looking south (Archives of the Israel Antiquities Authority, the British Mandate files, 1947. Jerusalem, Muslim quarter A2, Volume 101, photograph 38812; courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 67
29 Flagstones of the Western Cardo and the hewn drainage channel below it, along Khan e-Zeit street, looking north (Archives of the Israel Antiquities Authority, the British Mandate files, 1947. Jerusalem, Muslim quarter A2, Volume 101, photograph 38842; courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 67
30 A monolithic column of the Western Cardo of Aelia Capitolina, standing on a pedestal (Vincent and Abel 1914–1926:22, Fig. 4). 68
31 The Russian Hostel, Alexander Nevsky. Plan of remains of a paved plaza and monumental buildings (Vincent and Abel 1914–1926: Pl. III). 70
32 The Russian Hostel, Alexander Nevsky. The reconstructed east façade of the triple-arched propylaeum at the entrance to the forum (Vincent and Abel 1914–1926:31, Fig. 13). 72
33 The Russian Hostel, Alexander Nevsky. The arched propylaeum as revealed in the nineteenth century. Looking southeast (Vincent and Abel 1914–1926: Pl IX). 73
34 An ancient street along the Christian Quarter Street, during the excavation in 1977. Looking south (Israel Antiquities Authority Archive, excavation file 1977/686-A. courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 75
35 The Eastern Cardo and the Western Wall Plaza, looking northeast (photo: S. Weksler-Bdolah; courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 77
36 The Eastern Cardo and the Western Wall Plaza, looking northeast (photo: S. Weksler-Bdolah; courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 78

37 The Eastern Cardo and the rock cliff that delineates it from the west, looking southwest (photo: S. Weksler-Bdolah; courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 79
38 The Eastern Cardo, looking northwest (photo: S. Weksler-Bdolah; courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 80
39 HaGai/El-Wad Street, looking south. The Eastern Cardo pavement incorporated into the current street level (Gutfeld 2007: Fig. 11, courtesy of the Israel Exploration Society). 81
40 HaGai/El-Wad Street. The upper street pavement in Johns's excavation (Johns 1932:98–99, Figs. 1–2). 82
41 The upper street (Cardo) pavement in Johns's excavations (19.3.1931) (Israel Antiquities Authority Archives, British Mandate File, Jerusalem, Muslim Quarter 6A, vol. 102; courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 83
42 Drainage channel under the Cardo, during Johns's excavations in 1931 (Israel Antiquities Authority Archives, British Mandate File, Jerusalem, Muslim Quarter 6A, Volume 102; courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 83
43 The interior of the drainage channel. Photo No. 2885, April 25, 1931 (Israel Antiquities Authority Archives, British Mandate File, Jerusalem, Muslim Quarter 6A, Volume 102; courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 84
44 The Eastern Cardo, plan of remains in the Western Wall Plaza Excavations (survey: Vadim Essman; drawing: Natalya Zak; courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 86
45 The Eastern Cardo in the Western Wall Plaza Excavations: A section of a monolithic column, standing atop an original column base in the western portico of the Eastern Cardo (photo: S. Weksler-Bdolah; courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 87
46 The Eastern Cardo in the Western Wall Plaza Excavations: Wall 84 was built in the Early Islamic period, above the Roman Cardo. A column base and column shaft that probably originated in the porticoes of the Cardo were reused in its core. Looking south (photo: S. Weksler-Bdolah; courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 88
47 Corinthian capital reused in the core of Wall 84 (photo: S. Weksler-Bdolah; courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 88
48A A heart-shaped column base in the corner of the Cardo and the southern street. Looking north along the eastern portico (photo: S. Weksler-Bdolah; courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 89
48B A heart-shaped column base in the corner of the Cardo and the southern street. Close-up of the base (photo: S. Weksler-Bdolah; courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 89
49 The Eastern Cardo's pavement north of the line of the Southern Ottoman Wall,

west of the Dung Gate. Looking south (Reich 2008:1808; courtesy of the Israel Exploration Society). 92
50 The Eastern Cardo outside the Ottoman Walls, near the Dung Gate. Looking northeast (Ben-Dov 1985:224; courtesy of Meir Ben-Dov). 94
51 The Eastern Cardo outside the Ottoman Walls, near the Dung Gate. Bases of columns west of the street axis, looking southwest (Ben-Dov 1985:228; courtesy of Meir Ben-Dov). 95
52 Monolithic column in the Eastern Cardo excavations outside the Dung Gate; (photo: S. Weksler-Bdolah 2007). 95
53 The Eastern Cardo, the Great Causeway and adjacent buildings in the Roman period. Plan based on excavation findings from the Western Wall Plaza and the Great Causeway excavations (2005–2012), directed by A. Onn and S. Weksler-Bdolah on behalf of the IAA (survey: Vadim Essman, drawing: Natalya Zak; courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 98
54 Reconstruction of the Great Causeway, carrying the Decumanus toward the Temple Mount. The Eastern Cardo passes below the bridge. Based on the excavation findings (drawing: Yakov Shmidov, after Onn, Weksler-Bdolah and Bar Nathan 2011; courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 99
55 Via Dolorosa. An ancient pavement incorporated into the current pavement of the street, looking west (photo: S. Weksler-Bdolah). 100
56 A paved plaza (the *Lithostrotos*) and a street that crosses it, in the Sisters of Zion Convent and the Church of the Condemnation and Imposition of the Cross: Plan and reconstruction after Vincent and Steve 1954: Pl. XLIV. 101
57 A section of the Plaza's pavement in the Church of the Condemnation and Imposition of the Cross (Vincent and Abel 1914–1926: Pl. LXI, III). 102
58 Convent of the Sisters of Zion, pavement of the *Lithostrotos* square. A shallow channel for draining rainwater, looking south (photo: S. Weksler-Bdolah). 103
59 A board game engraved on a paving stone, Church of the Condemnation and Imposition of the Cross (photo: S. Weksler-Bdolah). 103
60 The pavement of the Decumanus crossing the square. Slots to prevent slipping across the stones. Looking west (photo: S. Weksler-Bdolah). 104
61A The Ecce Homo Arch over the Via Dolorosa, looking east. A photograph by August Salzmann, 1856 (Salzmann 1856). 104
61B The Ecce Homo Arch over the Via Dolorosa, looking east. The Ecce Homo Arch during construction of the monastery (photographed by MacDonald; Wilson 1865, II: 27b). 105
62 The Sisters of Zion Convent. Reconstruction of the western façade of the Ecce Homo Arch (Vincent and Abel 1914–1926:25, Fig. 6). 105
63 The Northern Decumanus: Reconstruction based on a survey of remains in the

area of the Ecce Homo Arch (Kisilevitz and Greenwald 2012:138, Fig. 2, courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 106
64 The high rock cliff north of the Via Dolorosa resulting from the Roman preparation works (Clermont-Ganneau 1899:51, section C to D). 107
65 Damascus Gate. The reconstruction of the square on the inner side of the northern city gate in the Roman Period (after M. Ben-Dov 2002:120; Segal 1997: Fig. 79; courtesy of M. Ben-Dov). 113
66 The reconstruction of the square on the inner side of the northern city gate in the Byzantine period (after M. Ben-Dov 2002:121; Segal 1997: Fig. 80; courtesy of M. Ben-Dov). 114
67 The plaza outside Damascus Gate (photo: S. Weksler-Bdolah, May 2019). 115
68 Coin of Aelia Capitolina. Obverse: Bust of Hadrian. Reverse: Façade of distyle temple: Within, in center: Jupiter seated; on left: Minerva standing, on right: Juno standing (Meshorer 1989:70–71, Cat. No. 1; courtesy of the Israel Museum, Jerusalem). 116
69 Stones, commonly referred to as Herodian, on the southern wall of the Temple Mount, next to the southeastern corner (photo: S. Weksler-Bdolah). 120
70 Stones of Type 2, above Herodian stones, in the Western Wall of the Temple Mount, looking east (photo: S. Weksler-Bdolah). 121
71 Statue base with a Latin inscription for Emperor Antoninus Pius, 138 CE. Incorporated in a secondary use in the Southern Wall of the Temple Mount, above the eastern entrance of the Double Gate (*CIIP* 1.2, 718, Fig. 718.1) Courtesy of Werner Eck. 123
72 Coin of Aelia Capitolina minted by Antoninus Pius. Obverse: Bust of Antoninus Pius; Reverse: Hexastyle Temple with central arch; Within: Tyche-Astarte standing (Meshorer 1989: Cat. No. 10–11; Photo: Yair Hovav, courtesy of the Israel Museum, Jerusalem). 125
73 Southeastern Jerusalem: Remains of the Roman and Byzantine periods after: Warren 1881–1884: Pl. V; Crowfoot and Fitzgerald 1929: Pl. 22; Gordon 2007: Fig. 1, Gordon 2007: Fig. 18.3; Baruch and Weiss 2009; Weksler-Bdolah 2014c, Onn and Weksler-Bdolah 2017, Ben-Ami and Tchekhanovets 2010 (drawing: Natalya Zak; courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 127
74 Aelia Capitolina in the mid-fourth century CE, author's suggestion. The legionary territory on the southwest hill is walled and mostly empty (drawing: Natalya Zak; courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 132
75 Aelia–Hierosolyma in the first half of the fifth century CE. Author's suggestion (drawing: Natalya Zak; courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 135
76 Map of Jerusalem in the Byzantine period (Tsafrir 2009:95, Fig. 57). 136
77A Northern line of Wall: Inner (southern) face of the northern line of the Roman–Byzantine city wall, east of Herod's Gate (photo: Alexander [Sando] Mandrea; courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 139

77B Northern line of Wall: North wall abutting Western Damascus Gate Tower, Hamilton 1944 section A (Hamilton 1944: Pl. 1.1). 139
78 Roman–Byzantine city wall abutting Phasael Tower (David's Tower in the Citadel; Johns 1950: Plate XLVIII 1, 2). 140
79 The Ophel Wall. Inner face, looking northeast (Mazar 2007b:191, Fig. 17.14; courtesy of E. Mazar). 141
80 Cooking pots and jars used for cremated burials at Ketef Hinnom (Avner and Zelinger 2015; courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 152
81A Cist tombs (Shaft tombs): Tombs of the Roman period, in Ketef Hinnom (Avner and Zelinger 2015; courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 153
81B Cist tombs (Shaft tombs): Tombs in the Northern Cemetery (Avni and Adawi 2015; courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 154
82 A general view of the northern cemetery of Aelia Capitolina, in Salah e-Din Street; after Avni and Adawi 2015, courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority. 155
83A A variety of grave goods from the Northern Cemetery in Salah ed-Din street: An ovoid oil lamp, with a large filling hole, dated to the third—fourth centuries CE (Avni and Adawi 2015: Fig. 23:8 photo: Clara Amit; courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 156
83B A variety of grave goods from the Northern Cemetery in Salah ed-Din street: A mold-blown glass jar, dated to the third century (Winter 2015: Fig. 3:1 photo: Clara Amit; courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 156
83C A variety of grave goods from the Northern Cemetery in Salah ed-Din street: A pair of gold earrings with pendant (Winter 2015: Fig. 5:2 photo: Clara Amit; courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 156
83D A variety of grave goods from the Northern Cemetery in Salah ed-Din street: A gold crescent earring with suspensions (Winter 2015: Fig. 5:7 photo: Clara Amit; courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 156
83E A variety of grave goods from the Northern Cemetery in Salah ed-Din street: A bone female figurine (Winter 2015: Fig. 11 1 photo: Clara Amit; courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 157
84 Miniature lead juglet from the Sallah ed-Din cemetery (Winter 2015: Fig. 6:1; photo: Clara Amit; courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 158
85 Perforated coin from the Sallah ed-Din cemetery (Bijovsky 2015; photo: Mariana Salzberger, courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 159
86 Amulet from the Sallah ed-Din cemetery, obverse and reverse (Mazor 2015; photo: Mariana Salzberger; courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 160
87A Lead coffins of the Roman period from Jerusalem (after Rahmani 1999: Pl. 25: *cat. nos.* 49 (2 upper photos) *cat. no.* 50 (lower photo)). 164
87B Lead coffins of the Roman period from Jerusalem (after Rahmani 1999: Pl. 27, *cat. no.* 53). 165

88A Roman Grave goods from the Akeldama Tombs: A. Round discus oil lamp (second-third century) (after Ben-Arieh and Coen-Uzielli 1996: Fig. 4.9:1). 167
88B Roman Grave goods from the Akeldama Tombs: B. Round/ oval body oil lamp with a large filling hole (third-fourth century) after Ben-Arieh and Coen-Uzielli 1996: Fig. 4.12.1; (photo: Clara Amit; courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 167
88C Roman Grave goods from the Akeldama Tombs: Glass bottles (Winter 1996, photo: Meidad Socholovsky; courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 167
88D Roman Grave goods from the Akeldama Tombs: Gold earrings (Winter 1996b; photo: Clara Amit; courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority, after Avni and Greenhut 1996). 167
89 The hinterland of Aelia Capitolina (drawing: Danit Levi, Natalya Zak, courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority); based on plans by Conder and Kitchener 1880: Sheet XVII; Fischer, Isaac and Roll 1996:84, Fig. 11; Tsafrir, Di Segni and Green 1994: General map; Ben David 2013:208, Fig. 1. 170
90 The imperial roads leading to Aelia Capitolina (Plan drawing: Danit Levi. Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities authority). 173
91 Milestone from Jerusalem (after Reich and Billig 2003:243, Fig. 1). 178
92 Tiles stamped with the stamp of the Tenth Legion Fretensis (LEXFR) from Danit Levi's excavations in Binyanei Ha-Umma (photo: S. Weksler-Bdolah; courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 186
93A ʿEn Yaʿel: The Southern Villa, mosaic floor (courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 190
93B ʿEn Yaʿel: The Southern Villa, mosaic floor (courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 190
94 ʿEn Yaʿel: Lower bath house in the Southern Villa, bricks marked with the stamp of the Tenth Legion Fretensis. Retrieved in excavations directed by David Amit (photo: Clara Amit; courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 191
95A ʿEn Yaʿel: The Northern Villa, mosaic floor with two panels. Looking north (photo: Marianna Salzberger; courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 192
95B ʿEn Yaʿel: The Northern Villa, mosaic floor with two panels. Looking east (photo: Marianna Salzberger; courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 192
95C ʿEn Yaʿel: The Northern Villa, mosaic floor with two panels. Southern panel of mosaic with *xenia* motifs, looking north (photo: Marianna Salzberger; courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 193
95D ʿEn Yaʿel: The Northern Villa, mosaic floor with two panels. Northern panel of mosaic adorned with intersecting four-petal white rosettes that join to form a continuous pattern of circles on a red background, looking east (photo: Marianna Salzberger; courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 193

96A *Villa rustica* in the Shuʿfat ridge: Aerial view (Photo: Ofek Aerial Photo, September 1991; courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 196
96B *Villa rustica* in the Shuʿfat ridge: plan of the house (after: Onn et al. 2016:125*, Fig. 3; Survey: Avraham Hajian; courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 196
97 ʿEin el-Hanniya: The nymphaeum (photo: Boaz Zissu 2013; courtesy of Boaz Zissu). 199

Table

1 Milestones discovered along the routes of Imperial Roads leading to Jerusalem/Aelia Capitolina. After Weksler-Bdolah and Levi *in prep*. 174

Abbreviations

AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
AE	*L'Anée épigraphique*
BAR	*Biblical Archaeology Review*
BAR Int. S.	British Archaeological Reports (International Series)
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
CCSL	*Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina*, Turnhout.
CIIP 1.1	H.M. Cotton, L. Di Segni, W. Eck, B. Isaac, A. Kushnir-Stein, H. Misgav, J. Price, I. Roll, and A. Yardeni eds. Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palestinae (CIIP), Volume I: Jerusalem. Part 1:1–704 (2010).
CIIP 1.2	H.M. Cotton, L. Di Segni, W. Eck, B. Isaac, A. Kushnir-Stein, H. Misgav, J. Price, I. Roll, and A. Yardeni eds. Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palestinae (CIIP), Vol. I: Jerusalem. Part 2:705–1120 (2012).
CIIP 2	W. Ameling, H.M. Cotton, W. Eck, B. Isaac, A. Kushnir-Stein, H. Misgav, J. Price and A. Yardeni eds. Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palestinae (CIIP), Vol. II: Caesarea and the Middle Coast 1121–2160 (2011).
CIIP 4.1	W. Ameling, H.M. Cotton, W. Eck, A. Ecker, B. Isaac, A. Kushnir-Stein, H. Misgav, J. Price, P. Weiß and A. Yardeni eds. Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palestinae (CIIP), Vol. IV: Iudaea/Idumaea, Part 1: 2649–3324 (2018).
CSEL	*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, Vienna.
ESI	*Excavations and Surveys in Israel*
GCS	*Die griechischen christlichen Schrifsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte*. Leipzig.
HA-ESI	*Hadashot Arkheologiyot–Excavations and Surveys in Israel* (from 1999).
HE	*Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. E. Schwartz (*GCS*, 9,1–2) Leipzig 1903–1908.
ILS	*Inscriptiones latinae selectae*, I–III, ed. H. Sessau, Berlin 1892–1916.
JRA	*Journal of Roman Archaeology*
JRA Suppl. S.	*Journal of Roman Archaeology* Supplementary Series
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
JSQ	*Jewish Studies Quarterly*
NEAEHL	E. Stern and A. Lewinson-Gilboa eds. *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* 1–4. Jerusalem. 1993.
NEAEHL 5	E. Stern ed. *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* 5: *Supplementary Volume*. Jerusalem. 2008.
NSAJR	New Studies in the Archaeology of Jerusalem and Its Region, Collected Papers. Jerusalem.

ONOMAS	L. Di Segni, Y. Tsafrir, J. Green. *The Onomasticon of Iudaea · Palaestina and Arabia in the Greek and Latin sources*. Volume I: Introduction, Sources, Major Texts. Jerusalem. 2015.
PEFQSt	*Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
PG	J.P. Migne ed. *Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeca*. Paris 1857–1866.
PJ	*Palästinajahrbuch des deutschen evangelischen Instituts für Altertumswissenschaft des Heiligen Landes zu Jerusalem*
QDAP	*Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine*
RB	*Revue Biblique*
SC	*Sources chéretiennes*
SEG	*Supplementum epigraphicum graecum*. Leiden 1923–.
SHA	*Scriptores historiae Augusta*
SWP III	C.R. Conder and H.H. Kitchener. *The Survey of Western Palestine*, Vol. III. Judaea. 1883.
SWP Jerusalem	Ch. Warren and C.R. Conder. *The Survey of Western Palestine*, Jerusalem. 1884.
TAVO	Bieberstein K. and Bloedhorn H. 1994. *Jerusalem: Grundzüge der Baugeschichte vom Chalkolithikum bis zur Frühzeit der osmanischen Herrschaft*, I–III (Beihefte zum Tubinger Atlas des vorderen Orients, Reihe B. Nr. 100/1–3), Weisbaden.
TIR	Tsafrir Y., Di Segni L. and Green J. 1994. *Tabula Imperii Romani: Iudaea-Palaestina: Eretz Israel in the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Periods. Maps and Gazetteer*. Jerusalem.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Chronological and Historical Framework

Prior to the Great Revolt (66–70 CE), Jerusalem was a large, thriving Jewish city in the eastern part of the Roman Empire (Fig. 1). It encompassed a considerable area estimated to have been approximately 180–200 hectares in total, with the colossal ritual precinct—the Herodian Temple Mount surmounted by the Jewish Temple—overlooking the city. The origins of the Herodian city lay in the ancient historical nucleus of the southeast hill, near the Gihon Spring. From there, the city expanded northward to include the Temple Mount and westward across the southwest hill. The First Wall, built in the Hasmonean period (second century BCE) extended around the southwest hill (the Upper City), the Temple Mount, and the southeast hill (Lower City). After its construction, the city continued to expand northward and two lines of wall were constructed even further north (the Second Wall and the Third Wall), enlarging the urban area.[1]

The archaeological remains of many buildings have been discovered within the Old City of Jerusalem.[2] The colossal Temple Mount compound from the Herodian period is still recognizable today. Its walls tower above the modern surface level. At its foot, to the west and the south, wide streets were lined with shops. Close to the walls of the Temple Mount, public ritual baths for the use of pilgrims have been discovered. The Tower of David, preserved to a considerable height in the Citadel, south of Jaffa Gate, is identified as the tower of Phasael or Hippicus that originally lay to the north of Herod's palace (Jos. *BJ*, 5:161–175). Palaces, including the Hasmonean palace,[3] Herod's palace,[4] and the palace of Queen Helena[5] adorned the cityscape. A few remains associated with Herod's palace have been discovered at the Qishle (the Turkish police station inside Jaffa Gate), south of the Citadel.[6] Jerusalem also had munici-

1 The history of Jerusalem during the Second Temple period has been dealt with in detail in several publications. For a comprehensive summary and discussion see Levine 2002 and references there and below.

2 For a detailed description of the archaeological remains see *NEAEHL* 2, 5.

3 Josephus, *Jewish War* 2:426.

4 Josephus, *Jewish War* 5:176–181.

5 Josephus, *Jewish War* 5:253, 6:355.

6 Re'em 2018.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2020 | DOI:10.1163/9789004417076_002

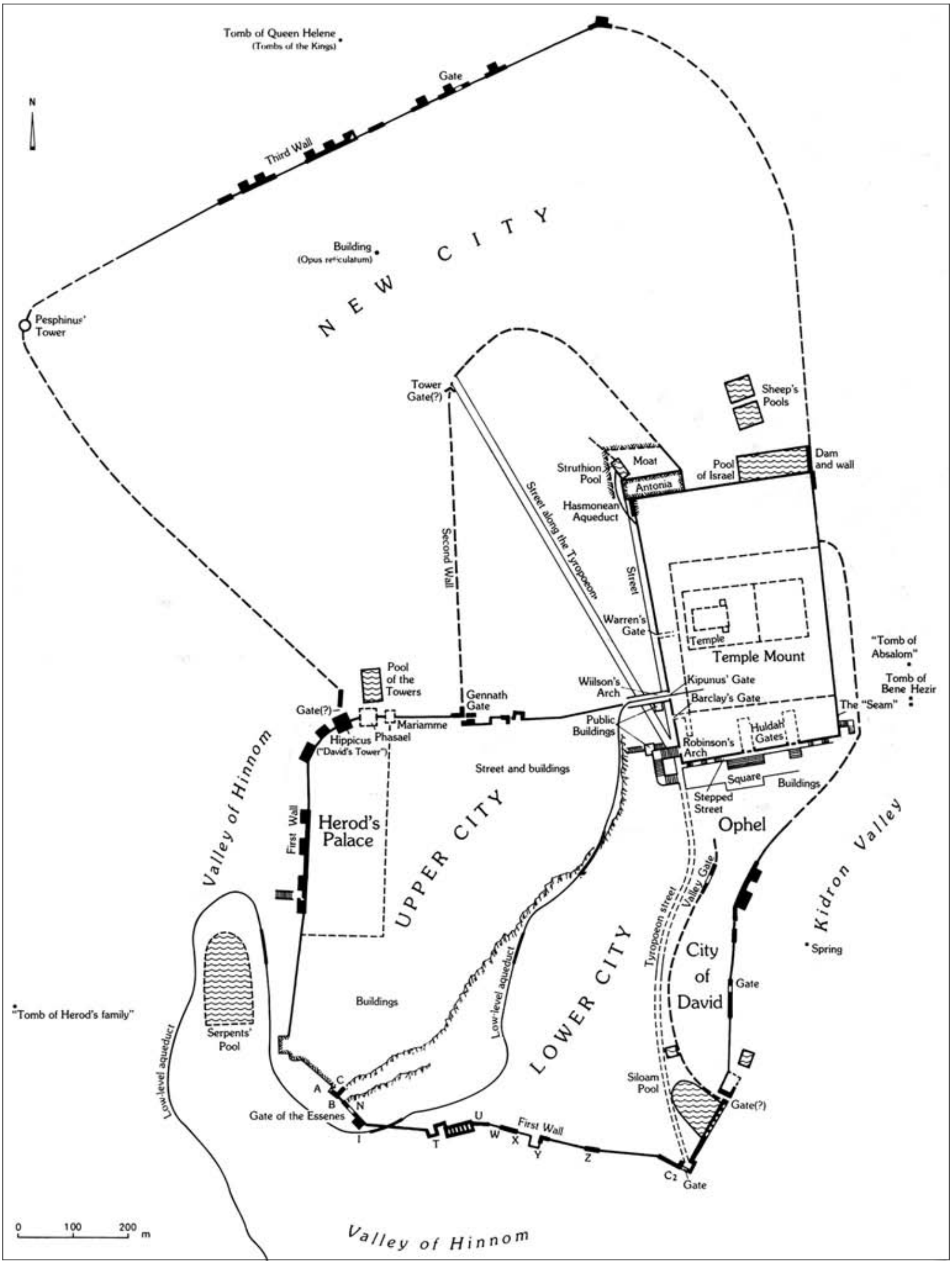

FIGURE 1 Map of Jerusalem at the end of the Second Temple Period
NEAEHL 2:718, COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL EXPLORATION SOCIETY

pal public buildings—most of which are known from historical sources—such as the council chamber,[7] archives,[8] and synagogues.[9] Other structures in the city included places of entertainment, mentioned in the ancient sources.[10] The remains of a magnificent Herodian building with two dining rooms (*triclinia*) separated by an elaborate fountain were recently unearthed west of the Temple Mount.[11] Discoveries in the Jewish Quarter (the 'Upper City' of the Second Temple period), include the remains of residential buildings, most of which were spacious courtyard houses with reception halls, living and dining rooms, water cisterns, and private bathhouses and ritual baths. The buildings typically contain mosaic floors and wall paintings. Similar houses are also known on the lower slopes of Mount Zion and to the south of the Temple Mount.

Around the perimeter of the city and within a 3.5 km radius stretched the *necropoleis* with hundreds of burial caves, most of them *kokhim*-type caves.[12] Beyond the *necropoleis*, dozens of sites have been discovered at about 4–8 km from the city. They contain Jewish farmsteads, villages and settlements that specialized in industrial and agricultural produce for the people of Jerusalem, much of which was intended specifically for the Temple.[13]

Following the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in 70 CE, a new era began in the city's history. The Herodian city was destroyed and a military camp of the Tenth Roman Legion established on part of the ruins. In around 130 CE, the Roman emperor Hadrian founded a new city in place of Herodian Jerusalem next to the military camp. He honored the city with the status of a colony and named it Aelia Capitolina. The new Roman city was smaller in size and had a different plan from the ruined Herodian city, following the traditional Roman orthogonal design. It was characterized by straight streets that ran parallel to or across each other along north–south or east–west axes and was fur-

7 Josephus, *Jewish War* 5 144, 6:354.

8 Josephus, *Jewish War* 2:427, 6:354.

9 Evidence for one of these synagogues comes from the 'Theodotos Inscription' discovered in the southern part of the City of David near the Pool of Siloam (*CIIP* 1.1, 9).

10 Xystus: *Josephus, Jewish War*, 2:344; gymnasium: 1 Macc. 1, 14; 2 Macc. 4, 9, 12; 4 Macc. 4, 20; theater and amphitheater: *Josephus, Jewish Antiquities* 15 268; *bouleuterion* (council-chamber): *Josephus, Jewish War* 5:144; 6:354; hippodrome: *Josephus, Jewish War* 2:44; *Jewish Antiquities* 17 255. Cf. Bieberstein and Bloedhorn 1994 (*TAVO*) 3, 400 ff.; Isaac 2010:7.

11 Onn and Weksler-Bdolah 2016; Patrich and Weksler-Bdolah 2016.

12 The Second Temple-period burial caves around Jerusalem were extensively studied. The short summary below is based largely on the comprehensive work of Kloner and Zissu 2007, and see references there.

13 See summaries in Baruch 1998; Greenhut 1997.

nished with colonnaded streets, triumphal arches and monumental buildings. The inhabitants of Aelia Capitolina were soldiers and veterans of the Tenth Legion and their families, as well as citizens and merchants who accompanied the soldiers. Jews were not allowed to enter the city. While Latin presided as the city's official language, Greek as well as Latin continued to be commonly spoken. The city's religious life revolved around Greco-Roman cults and traditions. The daily life and burial practices of the inhabitants of Aelia Capitolina were completely different from those of their predecessors during the Second Temple period.

Josephus states more than once that Titus and his army razed the Jewish city to the ground, leaving only a section of the city wall in the west and the Phasael, Hippicus, and Miriam towers. These were incorporated into the defenses of the camp of the Tenth Legion, which continued to be stationed in the ruined city (Jos. *BJ*, 6:353; 7:1–3, 5.). The historical description is consistent with the archaeological finds. Collapses of massive stones from the walls of the Temple Mount were exposed lying over the Herodian street running along the Western Wall of the Temple Mount.[14] The residential buildings of the Ophel and the Upper City were destroyed by a great fire.[15] The large urban drainage channel and the Pool of Siloam in the Lower City (the City of David) silted up and ceased to function,[16] and in many places the city walls collapsed.[17]

Josephus's accounts of the Roman army's presence in the destroyed city after the year 70 CE is confirmed by the archaeological and epigraphic findings, although the evidence is still meager and consists mainly of inscriptions and small finds, with hardly any structural remains (see below). Referring to the reorganization of Judaea after 70 CE, Josephus explicitly states that no new city was established in Judaea (Jos. *BJ*, 7:216–217). In the first third of the second century CE, Hadrian founded a new city on the vestiges of Herodian Jerusalem, near the camp of the legion that remained stationed there. He changed the city's name from Jerusalem to Aelia Capitolina, granting it the status of a Roman colony and possibly also forbidding Jews from entering its boundaries. The reasons for the city's establishment are unclear, as is the sequence of historical events related to its founding, particularly with regard to its link with the Bar Kokhba Revolt (132–135/136 CE). It is now generally assumed that the con-

14 Reich and Billig 2008.
15 For the Upper City, see Avigad 1983:120–139 *inter alia*; for the Ophel, see Ben-Ami and Tchekhanovets 2010, 2013.
16 Shukrun and Reich 2007:20–23.
17 See summary in *NEAEHL* 2:721–725; Weksler-Bdolah 2013:185–188.

FIGURE 2 Jerusalem in the Madaba Mosaic
VINCENT AND ABEL 1914–1926: PL. XXX, COPIED BY P.M. GISLER O.S.B.

struction of the new city preceded the beginning of the Bar Kokhba Revolt. It seems likely, however, that the consequences of the uprising influenced events in the city.

After the founding of the civilian colony of Aelia Capitolina the camp, which was apparently separated from the city by a wall, coexisted with the city for several decades until the late third century. There is no direct historical evidence for the precise date of the Tenth Legion's transfer from Aelia Capitolina. It is however reasonable to suggest that it was under the administrative changes that occurred at the time of Diocletian, in the latter third of the third century CE. The proclamation of Christianity as a permitted religion in the early fourth century and its adoption as the official religion of the Empire at the end of that century caused a tremendous change in Jerusalem's status and influenced the urban layout, which expanded and developed.[18] Jerusalem and its immediate surroundings became a destination for pilgrimages and the city was enlarged and surrounded by a wall. Churches were erected in many sites and the religious centers created a Christian holy topography that is reflected in the sixth-century Madaba map and still exists to this day (Fig. 2).[19]

18 Isaac 2010:26–37; Tsafrir 1999b; Rubin 1999, and references there.
19 For the Madaba mosaic, see Avi-Yonah 1954; Tsafrir 1999b:342–351.

History of Research

From the beginnings of research on the city of Jerusalem in the late nineteenth century, the accepted scholarly consensus has been that the modern confines of the Ottoman Old City and the layout of its main streets, with their straight, parallel and intersecting axes, roughly preserved the urban plan of the Roman city established at the time of Hadrian (Fig. 3).

J. Germer-Durand was the first to reconstruct the Roman city boundaries as resembling those of the Ottoman Old City (Fig. 4).[20]

C. Wilson discussed the site of the military camp and reconstructed the area it covered within the Jewish and Armenian Quarters of today (Fig. 5).[21]

L.H. Vincent and F.M. Abel suggested that immediately following 70 CE, the legionary camp covered the area proposed by Wilson, but that it was reduced in size after the founding of the Roman city and was eventually located within the confines of Herod's Palace (Fig. 6).[22] Scholars reconstructed the area covered by the city and the legionary camp as being divided into seven quarters, based on the description in *Chronicon Paschale*.[23]

R.W. Hamilton and later M. Avi-Yonah, Y. Tsafrir, J. Wilkinson, D. Bahat, Y. Mintzker and others were also of the opinion that the Old City of Jerusalem preserves the layout of the Roman city, including the army camp, and this proposal is generally accepted today, although over the years archaeological findings, and especially the absence of Roman buildings in the Jewish Quarter led to further proposals being offered (Fig. 7).[24]

E. Mazar and G.D. Stiebel proposed that in the years immediately following the destruction of 70 CE, the legionary camp remained in the area of the Citadel, on the Western Hill, but over time it became clear that the Temple Mount enclosure could not be left abandoned and Hadrian's transferred the camp to the Temple Mount enclosure and the foot of its southwestern corner (Fig. 8).[25]

H. Geva and the present author suggest that the camp covered the highest part of the Upper City and included, in addition to the areas of the Armenian and Jewish Quarters of the Old City, the summit of Mount Zion, which lies outside the Ottoman walls (Fig. 9).[26]

20 Germer-Durand 1892.
21 Wilson 1905.
22 Vincent and Abel 1914:1–39, Planche 1.
23 *Chron. Pasch.*, col. 613.
24 Tsafrir 1999a; Hamilton 1952; Mintzker 1977, *inter alia*.
25 See Mazar 2011a:1–8; Stiebel 1995.
26 Geva 1984; Weksler-Bdolah 2014a, 2017.

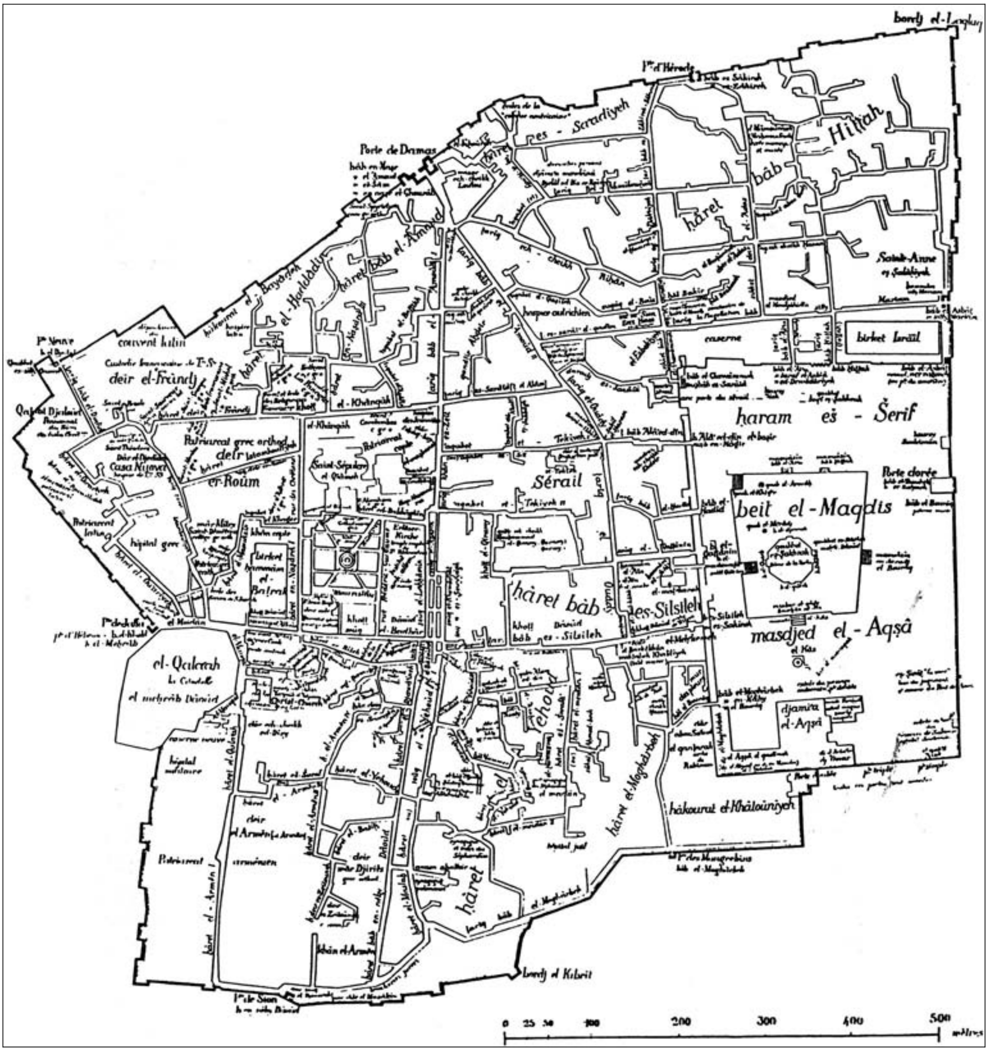

FIGURE 3 The Old City of Jerusalem
VINCENT 1912: PL. III

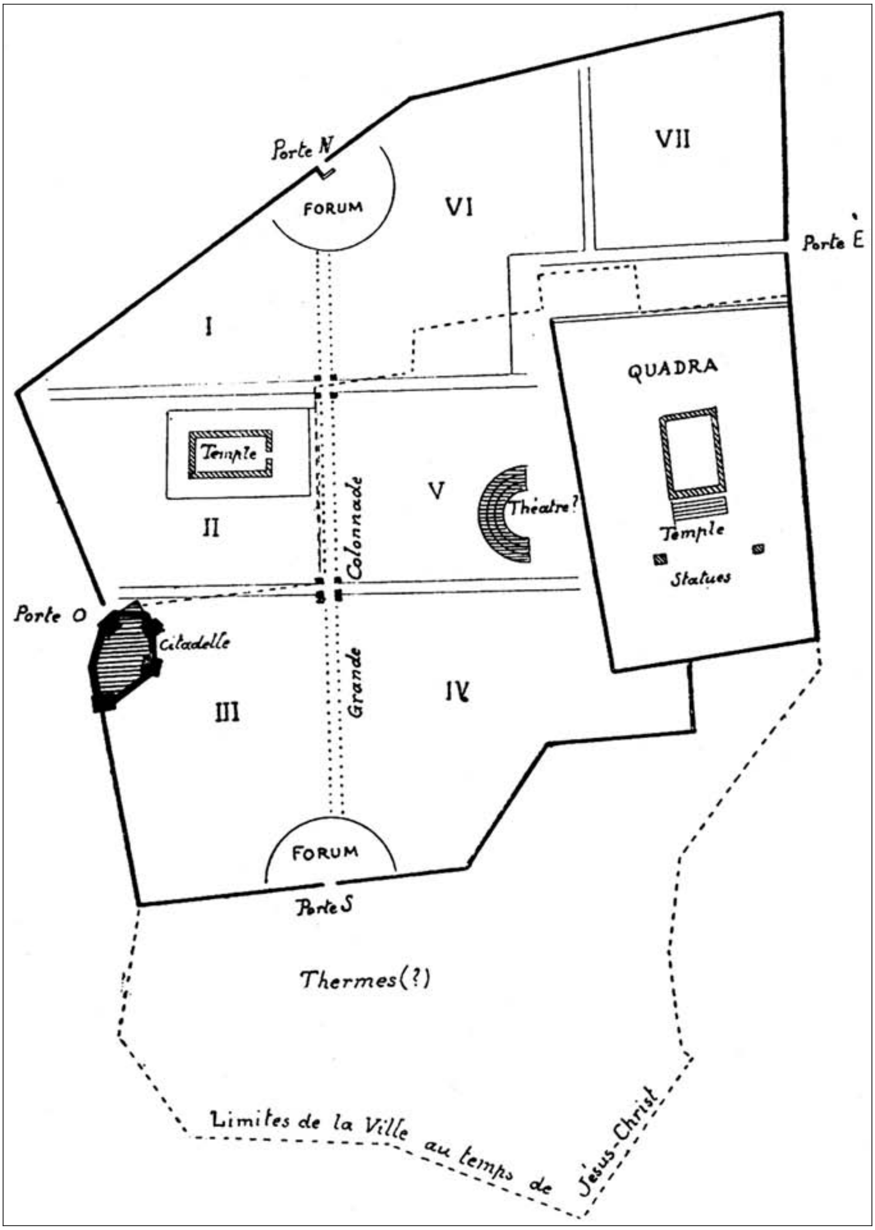

FIGURE 4 The City Plan of Aelia Capitolina, according to J. Germer-Durand
GERMER-DURAND 1892:373

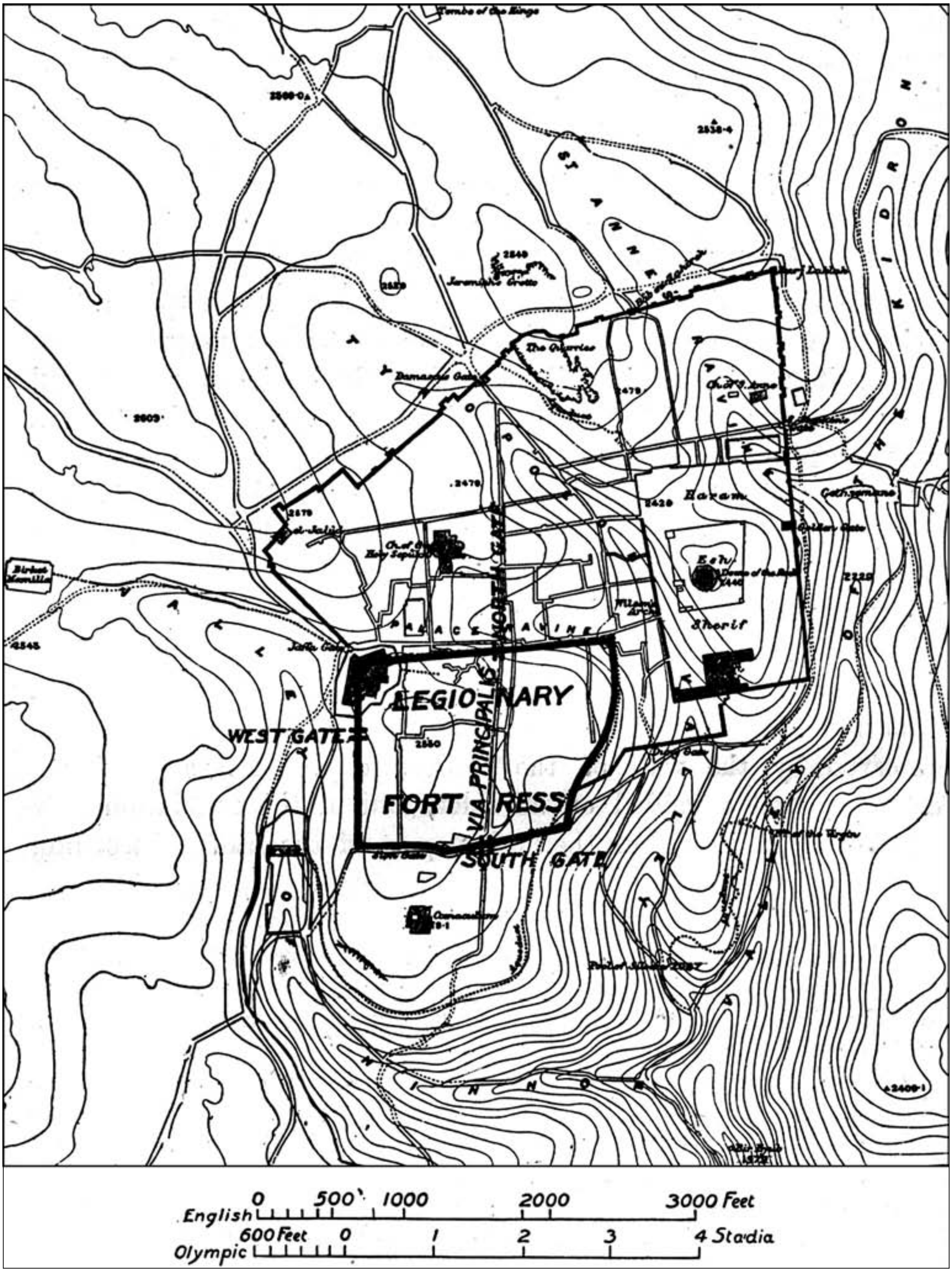

FIGURE 5 The camp of the Tenth Legion in Jerusalem according to C.W. Wilson
WILSON 1905

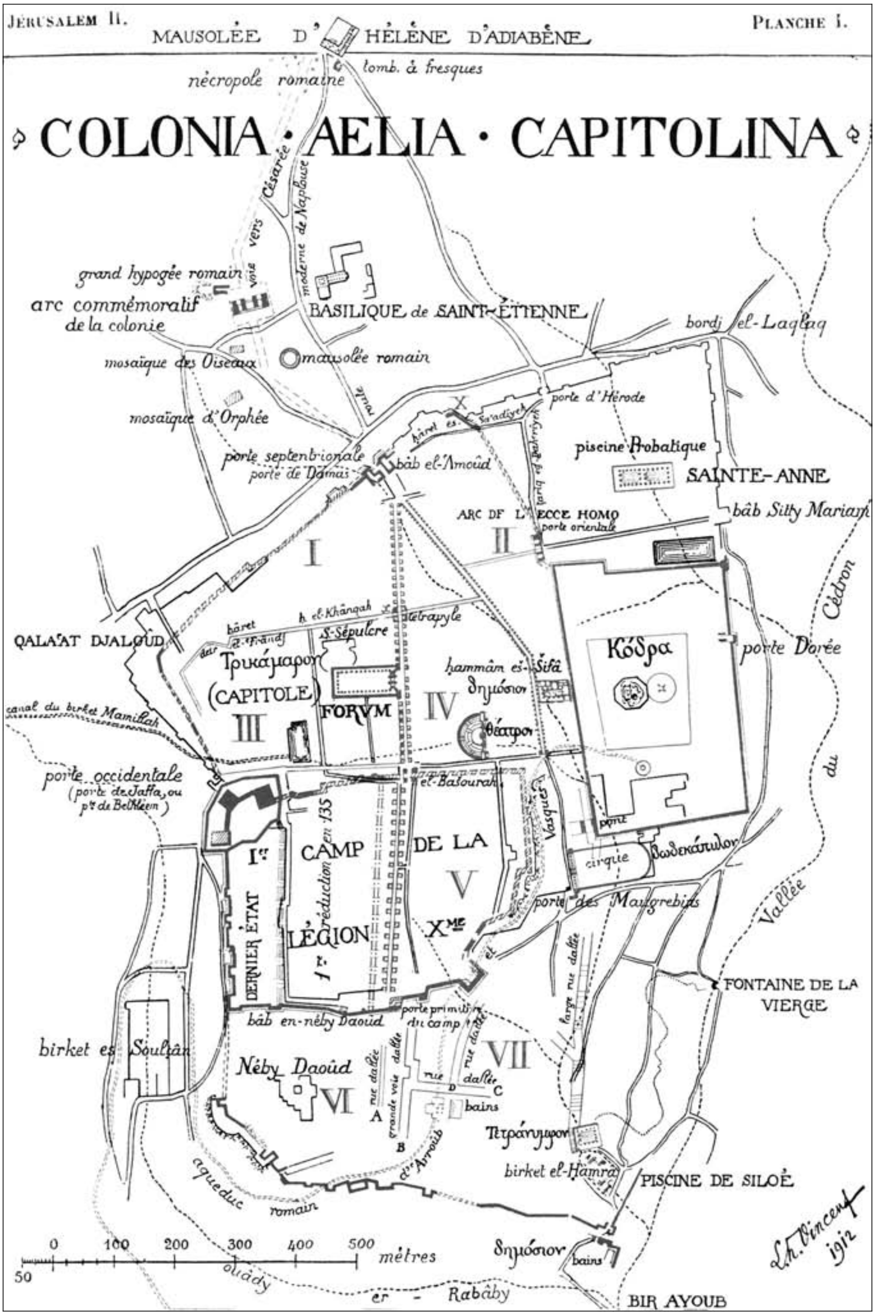

FIGURE 6 The city plan of Aelia Capitolina according to L.H. Vincent
VINCENT AND ABEL 1914: PL. 1

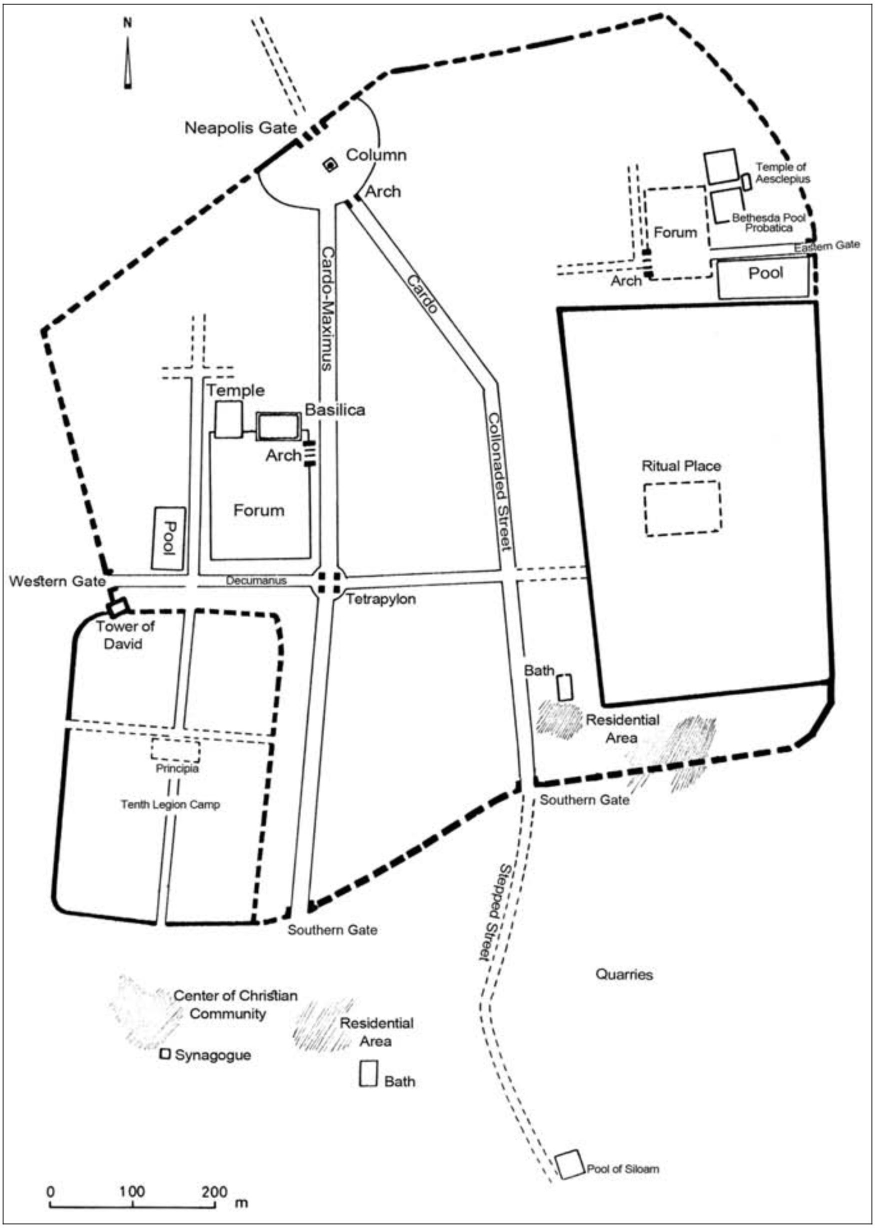

FIGURE 7 The city plan of Aelia Capitolina at the beginning of the fourth century according to Y. Tsafrir
TSAFRIR 1984:60 (DIGITAL PROCESSING AND TRANSLATION OF LABELS, SILVIA KRAPIWKO)

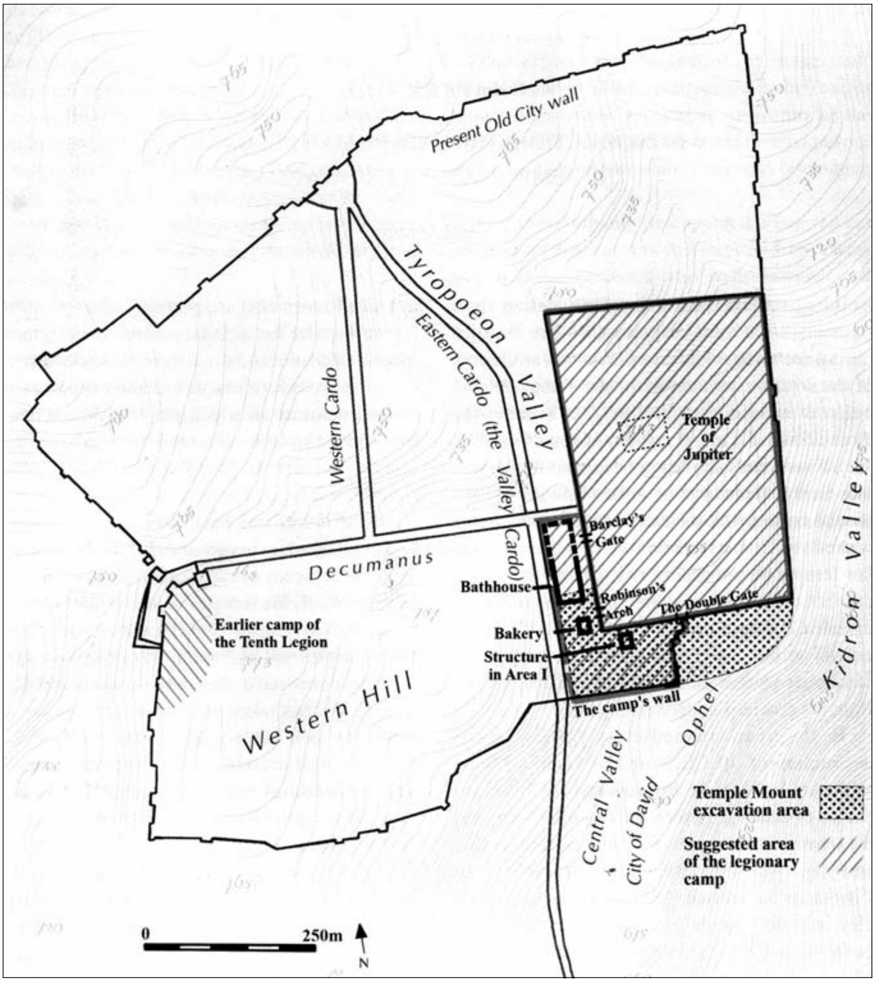

FIGURE 8 The camps of the Tenth Legion according to E. Mazar
MAZAR 2011A:2, FIG. 1.1.; COURTESY OF E. MAZAR

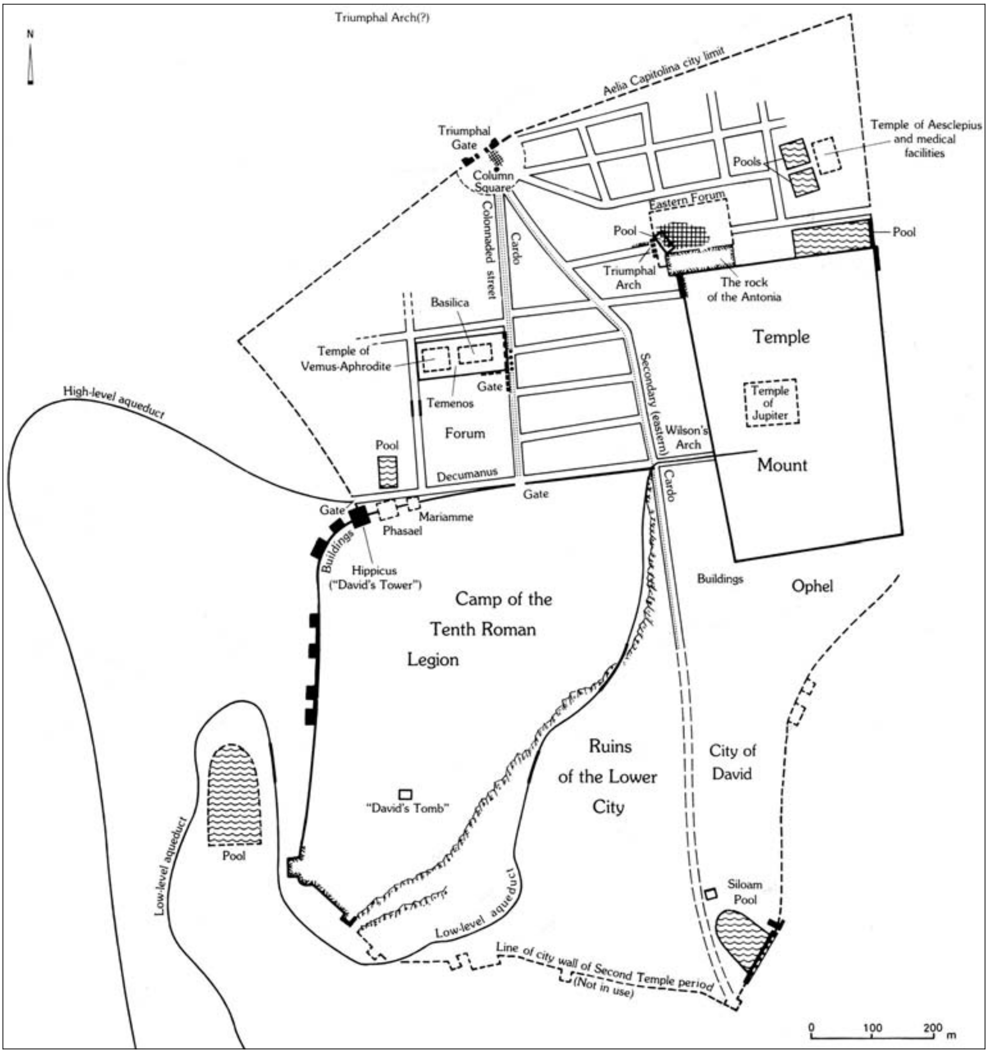

FIGURE 9 Aelia Capitolina and the military camp of the Tenth Legion according to H. Geva
NEAEHL 2:758, COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL EXPLORATION SOCIETY

Y. Eliav maintains that the city covered the northern part of the Old City and that even the Temple Mount was not included within it.[27] D. Bear also located the city and the camp in the northern quarters of the Old City,[28] whereas J. Magness and G. Avni contend that Aelia Capitolina, including the military camp, was planned to lie between the Third Wall in the north and the Hinnom Valley in the south.[29] As for the city's fortifications, it is generally accepted that Aelia Capitolina was not surrounded by walls when founded and that freestanding gates in the four cardinal directions marked its outer perimeter, with no interconnecting city walls. A substantial wall incorporating the city gates was built later, in the latter part of the Roman period or in the Byzantine period.[30]

Sources of Information for the Investigation of Aelia Capitolina

No detailed historical account survives of Aelia Capitolina's appearance or of its boundaries and urban layout that is comparable with the description of the Herodian city in Josephus's writings. Studies of the city rely on the few existing historical sources,[31] and principally on archaeological and epigraphic finds, the depiction of Jerusalem in the Madaba mosaic, the modern-day appearance of the Old City of Jerusalem, and comparison with other Roman cities.

The Historical Sources

Josephus provides details of the destruction of Jerusalem and the subsequent stationing of the Tenth Legion Fretensis in the city after 70 CE (Jos. *BJ* 6:353–355, 7:1–5, 17; *Vita* 422). Appian of Alexandria, a second-century Roman historian, documented Vespasian's destruction of Jerusalem and its later devastation by Hadrian (Appian *Syr.* 50:252; Stern 1980:179–181, no. 343). A description of the founding of the city is found in a work written by the Roman historian Cassius Dio, who lived in the second and third centuries (c. 160–230 CE). The original manuscript was not preserved, but rather a synopsis by Xiphilinos, an eleventh-century monk (Dio Cass, LXIX, 12:1–2; Stern 1980:391–393, no. 440):

27 Eliav 2003.

28 Bear 1993.

29 See Magness 2000, 2011; Avni 2005. For the line of the Third Wall, see Sukenik and Mayer 1930.

30 *NEAEHL* 2:770–772; Weksler-Bdolah 2006–2007, 2007b.

31 For the main sources (translations and discussion), see Stern 1974, 1980, 1984; Isaac 2010: 10–26; *ONOMAS*, Vol. 1; Di Segni 2014, *inter alia*.

> At Jerusalem he [Hadrian] founded a city in place of the one which had been razed to the ground, naming it Aelia Capitolina, and on the site of the temple of the god he raised a new temple to Jupiter. This brought on a war of no slight importance nor of brief duration, for the Jews deemed it intolerable that foreign races should be settled in their city and foreign religious rites planted there.

Two fourth-century Christian sources, Eusebius of Caesarea (Eus. *HE* IV: 3–4, 6), and Epiphanius of Salamis (Epiph. *De mens.*, Stern 1980:395; Baker 2012; Di Segni 2014:442), give different versions of the founding of the Roman city and the issue is discussed at length in the research literature. During the first third of the third century Ulpianus (*Digesta*, L, XV, 1, 6; Stern 1984:63, no. 2) and Paulus (*Digesta*, L, XV, 8, 6; Stern 1984:63, no. 2) mention Aelia Capitolina as a city exempt from taxes, thus confirming its status as a Roman colony (exemption of taxes was an extra privilege; not all Roman colonies were exempt from taxes). An authentic passage on Aelia Capitolina is integrated in the seventh-century work known as the *Chronicon Paschale*. It includes a description of the public buildings erected by Hadrian in Aelia Capitolina and notes that the city was divided into seven quarters and appointed a head for each quarter (*Chron. Pasch.*, col. 613).

Other evidence for the condition of the city at the beginning of the fourth century, before it was Christianized in Constantine's reign, is found in the *Life of Peter the Iberian*, a biography of Peter the Iberian, Bishop of Maiumas, in the second half of the fifth century CE (*Petrus Iber.*). Jerusalem is described as an unwalled city, with few buildings and a small population.[32] Eusebius (Eus. *HE* IV:6, 3), who quoted an imperial edict cited by Aristo of Pella, a second-century Jewish Christian, noted the prohibition against Jews approaching the area of the Roman city.

An invaluable source of information for the appearance of the city from the early fourth century onward is provided by descriptions of Jerusalem by travelers writing in Latin.[33] In works such as the *Itinerary of the Pilgrim from Bordeaux* (*It. Burd.*, Wilkinson 1999:22–34; *ONOMAS*, pp. 191–193), the *Itinerary of Ege-*

32 The description, apparently written in the fifth century CE by Johannes Rufus, a disciple of Peter the Iberian, and an ecclesiastical historian, was preserved in a Syrian version and a Georgian version. For translations and discussions of the paragraphs concerning Jerusalem in the Syrian version, see Bitton-Ashkelony 1999:107–108, Horn and Phenix 2008:51–53 (38), 93–95 (64); for those of the Georgian version, see Lang 1976:54, 65–66.

33 *Itineraria et alia geographica* (*CCSL*, 175), Turnholt 1965; see Wilkinson 1976, 1999, 2002; Hunt 1982; Limor 1998 *inter alia*.

ria (*It. Eg.*, Wilkinson 1999:88–90, 142–164), the *Itinerary of Paula* (Hier. *Epit. S. Paulae*, Wilkinson 2002:79–91; *ONOMAS*, pp. 226–227, 231–232) and the epistle *A Description of Jerusalem* written by Eucherius, who is identified by most researchers as the Bishop of Lyon in the first half of the fifth century (Euch., Wilkinson 2002:94–98), the pilgrims give detailed accounts of the sites and the churches they visited and also incidentally mention the city gates, sections of city walls, pools, and other buildings that they saw in the city. The street network along which the pilgrims walked can be deduced from their descriptions. Important details are also found in the narratives of sixth-century pilgrims, as in the *Description of the Holy Land* attributed to Theodosius (Theod., Wilkinson 2002:103–109) and the *Itinerary of Antoninus* (AP, Wilkinson 2002:138–142).

The Archaeological Evidence

Our main source of information about the city in the Roman period comes from the archaeological remains of streets, buildings and installations discovered throughout the Old City and in the adjacent vicinity from the late nineteenth century to the present day. The special characteristics of Jerusalem have presented a considerable challenge to organized archaeological research. The Old City has been constantly inhabited for thousands of years and its entire area (which covers a mere one square kilometer) is crowded with buildings. Dense construction has often damaged earlier remains, sometimes removing them completely. Many sites are out of bounds for archaeological research, either because they are privately owned or because they are located within sacred sites (such as the Temple Mount complex), and generally because of both reasons. As a result, there are few places where large-scale archaeological excavations can be conducted. Many of the remains we know of today were discovered by chance while digging foundations for a new building or during repairs to the municipal drainage system. Nevertheless, from the second half of the nineteenth century onward, scholars documented and investigated remains of interest. Relevant to our study are the walls of the Temple Mount and the remains of ancient buildings found along its southern and western sides.[34] Ancient fortification lines were investigated and documented on Mount Zion,[35] and Roman and Byzantine structures were recorded and discussed.[36] During the British Mandate of Palestine (1917–1947) and under Jordanian rule (1948–1967), archaeological excavations were conducted outside the

34 Warren and Conder 1884; Wilson 1865, 1880; Wilson and Warren 1871.

35 Bliss and Dickie 1898.

36 Vincent and Abel 1914–1928; Vincent and Steve 1954.

northern wall of the Old City and outside Damascus Gate,[37] near Jaffa Gate, inside the Citadel,[38] and along the western Ottoman wall in the Armenian Garden.[39]

After the Six-Day War in 1967, extensive excavations were carried out inside and outside the Old City of Jerusalem as part of the overall urban development. Excavations were conducted around Damascus Gate,[40] at the Citadel,[41] in the Armenian Garden,[42] and throughout the Jewish Quarter.[43] In the Ophel, too, south and west of the Temple Mount, excavations yielded finds of tremendous value.[44] Important remains from the Roman period have recently also been exposed in the Western Wall tunnels,[45] and in the Western Wall Plaza.[46] Among the remains identified are remnants of fortification walls lying roughly along the line of the Ottoman wall, a magnificent city gate beneath the Ottoman Damascus Gate, colonnaded streets beneath the Old City's main street network, three large public squares in the northern part of the Old City with traces of monumental arches that once adorned them, public buildings preserved several stories high, and a small odeon-like structure that is currently being exposed to the west of the Temple Mount, beneath Wilson's Arch.[47] Private dwellings have been discovered south of the Temple Mount, in the Ophel, and in the City of David on the southeastern hill, practically outside the limits of Aelia Capitolina.[48] Excavations have unearthed aqueducts and water reservoirs, industrial installations, and burial grounds outside the city. The distribution of the ancient remains and their compatibility with the appearance of the Old City today enable us to determine with reasonable certainty that the area of the Roman city lay more or less within the same boundaries as the Ottoman Old City of Jerusalem.

Information about the identity of the population that lived in the city during the Roman period and their everyday customs can be gleaned from a variety of small finds discovered in archaeological excavations, including pottery, glass

37 Hamilton 1944; Hennessy 1970; Wightman 1989.
38 Johns 1950.
39 Tushingham 1985.
40 Magen 1994.
41 Amiran and Eitan 1970; Geva 1983, 2000a; Sivan and Solar 2000.
42 Broshi and Gibson 1994.
43 Avigad 1983; Geva 2000b, 2006, 2010, 2014a, *inter alia*.
44 Mazar 1969, 1975a; Mazar E. 2003, 2007, 2011a, *inter alia*.
45 Bahat 2013; Onn and Weksler-Bdolah 2017.
46 Weksler-Bdolah and Onn 2017.
47 Uziel, Lieberman and Solomon 2017.
48 Gordon 2007; Ben-Ami and Tchekhanovets 2013, *inter alia*.

and metal vessels, coins, and faunal remains that shed light on the diet of the population. Dedicatory inscriptions on buildings or on statues, epitaphs on tombstones, inscriptions on milestones, on bread stamps, and other epigraphic finds from throughout the city provide additional information about the population that lived in Jerusalem during the Roman period and its ethnic identity.

The sixth-century depiction of Jerusalem on the Madaba map (Fig. 2) is regarded as the earliest surviving plan of the city.[49] The plan is schematic and the artist was clearly influenced by Christian ideology that emphasized the Christian edifices throughout the city. Nevertheless, it reveals many details about the city's orthogonal layout from the time of Aelia Capitolina, which continued to exist to the Byzantine period.

Jerusalem's continuous settlement from the Roman period until today enables us to use the current street plan as well as buildings traditionally identified as being ancient to reconstruct the urban layout during the Roman and Byzantine periods. Archaeological evidence for this continuity has been found in numerous places and is presented in detail below. It includes the remains of the northern city gate discovered beneath the Ottoman Damascus Gate and paving stones of ancient streets that were discovered at between 2 and 4–5 m beneath the main thoroughfares of the Old City. Some monuments of the Roman period still adorn the cityscape today, for example the arch known as 'Ecce Homo' over the Via Dolorosa street.

In analyzing the archaeological findings, a great deal of weight is attached to comparative urban research, namely the examination of similar urban processes studied in other cities. However, the foundation of the Roman colony Aelia Capitolina on the ruins of the Herodian city differed considerably from Roman urbanization processes in other Hellenistic cities in the eastern part of the Empire and it is difficult to find clear parallels. Nevertheless, topics discussed in the study of other cities provide valuable clues for the interpretation of Roman and Byzantine remains in Jerusalem.[50]

---

49 Avi-Yonah 1954; Piccirillo and Alliata 1999; Pullan 1999, *inter alia*.

50 For Bet She'an-Scythopolis see Tsafrir and Foerster 1994, 1997. For Jerash-Gerasa, see Kraeling 1938; Wharton 1995; Kennedy 1998. For Zippori-Sepphoris, see Weiss and Netzer 1997. For Caesarea Maritima, see Holum 1989, 2009; Patrich 2001, 2009, 2011. For Hippos-Sussita, see Segal et al. 2013. On the development of the urban layout in various cities from the Roman and Byzantine periods to the Early Islamic period, see Kennedy 2006; Avni 2014, *inter alia*.

CHAPTER 2

The Camp of the Legion x Fretensis

After the destruction of the Herodian city of Jerusalem by the Romans in 70 CE, a military camp of the Tenth Roman Legion was established on part of the ruins to guard the former center of the revolt. This is clearly stated by Josephus (Jos. *BJ*, 7:1–2, 5, 17; *Vita*, 422); it can be understood from the text of a diploma of 93 CE: "(*veterani*) *qui militaverunt Hierosolymnis in legione x Fretense*",[1] and it is also clear from epigraphic finds from the town.[2] A bulk of military small finds recovered from several sites around the Old City indicates the presence of the x Fretensis in Jerusalem: Coins of Aelia Capitolina minted with symbols of the Tenth Legion; bread stamps of a military bakery carrying the symbol of the *centuria* together with the names of the centurion and the baker-soldier in Latin (Fig. 10); and a wealth of construction materials, including ceramic pipes, roof tiles and bricks bearing the stamps of the x Fretensis (Figs 11A, B).[3] Inside the camp there would have been different structures, including the headquarters (*principia*) and barracks. Epigraphic finds indicate the existence of stables,[4] and a bakery.[5]

Evidence of the presence of auxiliary units and of units of the Tenth Legion outside the permanent camp in Jerusalem is provided by several findings. A few units were regularly stationed at the Tenth Legion's pottery workshop exposed at Binyanei Ha-Umma (the International Convention Center).[6] Two inscriptions related to the Tenth Legion were discovered in Abu Ghosh, testifying to the presence of further units there.[7] In the time of Hadrian, units of the Tenth Legion participated in the construction of the aqueduct to Caesarea together with those of three other legions, the Second, the Sixth, and the

1 *ILS* 9059, "[The veterans] who served in Jerusalem in the Legion x Fretensis," trans. Isaac 2010:13.

2 *CIIP* 1.2, 721–727, 734–736; Isaac 2010:10–26.

3 For coins, see Meshorer 1989:28–29, catalogue nos. 3–6, 22–24, 30–36, *inter alia*; for breadstamps, see *CIIP* 1.2, 755, 757, 761; Di Segni and Weksler-Bdolah 2012; for stamps of the Legio x Fretensis, see Geva 2003, Adler 2011; *inter alia*.

4 The inscription, (*CIIP* 1.2, 721), on a base of a statue, was dedicated to the senatorial commander (legate) of the Tenth Legion Fretensis, by his *strator* (groom) who was responsible for the horses of the legate.

5 Indicated by the presence of military breadstamps, see above.

6 See Arubas and Goldfus 2008a; Levi and Be'eri 2011, and below.

7 *CIIP* 1.2, 712 is a building inscription not necessarily related to the Tenth Legion, it may refer to an auxiliary cohort; and *CIIP* 1.2, 722 is indeed related to the legion, but it is also a build-

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2020 | DOI:10.1163/9789004417076_003

FIGURE 10 Military breadstamp from the Roman dump in the Western Wall Plaza Excavations
Sealing surface, First line: > AMATI (Centuria) Amati(i),
Second line: C.ANTONI (Opus) C(aii) Antoni(i),
Century) of Amatius. (Work) of Caius Antonius
READING: LEAH DI SEGNI; PHOTO: CLARA AMIT; COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

Twenty-Second.[8] Nine inscriptions attesting to this were incorporated into the aqueduct.[9] A tombstone of the Tenth Legion soldier Allius Iustus was discovered in Caesarea.[10] The soldier lived in Caesarea and died there, apparently while still in military service. A marble tablet of unknown use abbreviating the name of the Tenth Legion to *LXF* was also discovered in Caesarea.[11] Two Latin inscriptions were found in the village of Al-Qubab. Clermont-Ganneau assumed that they were brought to the site from Emmaus (5 km away) while Fischer, Isaac and Roll suggested that a unit of the Tenth Legion was camped at Qubab, where it guarded the Ayalon valley and the Diospolis–Emmaus section of the road to Aelia Capitolina.[12] These findings provide indirect evidence that only a part of the legion—presumably its headquarters and some of its units—was located in the camp, although the exact size of the camp in Jerusalem remains unknown.

ing inscription and the vexillatio mentioned there may have been there only for temporary building activities. I thank the anonymous reader for these remarks.

8 Di Segni 2002:47–51; Porath 2002, 2008.

9 *CIIP* 2, 1200–1209.

10 *CIIP* 2, 1353.

11 *CIIP* 2, 1354.

12 Fischer, Isaac and Roll 1996:236–237: 1. C(o)ho(rs) IX, (centuria) Arv ....(?), 2. [LEG] X F(retensis) An(toniniana) (?)/ [---Anto]nini Au[g(usti)---](?).

FIGURE 11A Stamp impression of the Tenth Roman Legion on brick: a rectangular impression: LXFRE on a round brick (retrieved in excavations directed by Alexander Onn, on behalf of the IAA, in the Western Wall Tunnels, c. 50 m west of the Temple Mount)
PHOTO: CLARA AMIT; COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

Legio x Fretensis retained its base in the town until it was transferred to Aela on the Red Sea sometime in the latter third of the third century, perhaps under Diocletian. Still later, in the late fourth century, the *Notitia Dignitatum Orientis* mentions a unit of *equites Mauri Illyriciani* as being based in Aelia (*Not. Dign. Or.* 34.21, Isaac 1990:280, 427; *ONOMAS*, pp. 246).

Surprisingly, despite the long duration of military presence in Jerusalem and although the ancient sources are adamant that the Roman army never spent a single night without laying out a fortified camp,[13] no archaeological remains

13 *Josephus, Jewish War* 3:76–84. For other sources, see Isaac 1990:427, note 5.

FIGURE 11B Stamp impressions of the Tenth Roman Legion on rooftile: A circular impression, LEG.X.F in the center, with a war galley above the inscription and a wild boar below it (retrieved in excavations directed by Annette Landes-Nagar, on behalf of the IAA, in Hotel Gloria, c. 250 m north of Jaffa Gate, Christian Quarter, Old City)
PHOTO: CLARA AMIT; COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

have been attributed with certainty to the military camp and its site has not yet been identified.

Nevertheless, most researchers, relying on the testimony of Flavius Josephus and the topography of Jerusalem, propose identifying the legionary base in the area of the southwestern hill—that is, the Upper City of the Second Temple period and Herod's palace in its northwest corner.[14] The size of the camp is still a matter of disagreement. Tsafrir, among others, suggested it lay in the southwest quarter of the Old City—the current location of the Citadel and the Armenian Quarter; Wilson estimated that it occupied the area of the Armenian and Jewish quarters in the southern half of the Old City, and Geva, followed by the author, suggested that it stretched over the entire summit of the Upper City of the Second Temple period including the areas of the Armenian and Jewish Quarters within the Old City, as well as on Mount Zion outside the Ottoman

14 For a summary of this and other views see Tsafrir 1999a:124–135 and references there; Wilson 1905; Geva 1984; Weksler-Bdolah 2014a; Vincent and Abel 1914–1926: Pl. 1.

walls. Vincent assumed that the camp was larger in the beginning, occupying the areas of the Jewish and Armenian Quarters, and that it was later reduced in size.

Since no architectural remains of the military camp were recognized with certainty on the southwestern hill, other suggestions have been offered in recent years. E. Mazar and Stiebel proposed identifying the camp on the Temple Mount and at the foot of its southwest approaches.[15] Their proposal relied on findings that were exposed in B. Mazar's excavations, especially a Roman bathhouse, Roman latrines, a group of ovens, and a clay stamp identified as a military die from the bakery, all identified as military facilities.[16] The hypocaust floor of the bathhouse was built of bricks carrying the stamps of the Legio X Fretensis and the floors of the ovens were made of broken pieces of bricks, some of which bear the impressions of the Tenth Legion's stamps as well. However, building materials carrying the Tenth Legion's seal impressions are common at Roman sites throughout Jerusalem and their widespread distribution may suggest that although they were produced by the military, they were also sold to civilians in the markets of Aelia Capitolina.[17] Abramovich suggested that the camp extended over the whole southern part of the Old City, between the current western city wall and the Eastern Wall of the Temple Mount, including the area of the Ophel to the south of the Temple Mount.[18] Alternatively, Bear suggested identifying the camp in the area of the Muristan and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, but this is a hypothetical proposition. It is not based on historical evidence and is not substantiated by any archaeological findings. Scholarly consensus identifies this area as the central forum of Aelia Capitolina due to its location near the intersection of the Western Cardo and the Decumanus and the substantial remains from the Roman period, including a public square, a decorative arch, and monumental remains of public buildings.[19] Isaac reviewed the sources, noting that "After the first Jewish revolt the headquarters of the legion X Fretensis were established in the western part of the city, perhaps near these towers" [the towers of Herod's palace].[20] Alternatively, he suggested, the military base might have been on the Temple Mount

15 Mazar 2011a 1–8; Stiebel 1995. Fig. 8, above.

16 See Mazar 2011a:11–84, 145–184; Reuven 2011; Stiebel 1995, 2011, *CIIP* 1,2,760.

17 Tsafrir 1999a:127–128; see discussion below, The Role of the Army.

18 Abramovich 2012.

19 See Bear 1993, 1994; Geva 1994b. For the archaeological remains, see summaries in Tsafrir 1999a:151–152; Geva 1993:763; Mazor 2007:118–119, and below.

20 Isaac 1990:280.

or in the northern part of the city, where no excavations had yet been carried out. At Palmyra and Luxor, he added, the Roman army established a military headquarters in a former sanctuary.[21]

The author's support of the traditional identification of the southwestern hill as the site of the Tenth Legion's camp (Fig. 12), in addition to the historical source (Jos. *BJ*, 7:1–2, 5, 17; *Vita*, 422), relies on the advantageous topography of the southwestern hill, the supply of running water to the hill's surroundings and the existence of archaeological remains attesting to a Roman presence throughout the hilltop during the relevant period. These will be discussed below.

Permanent camps of the Roman army were preferably established in sites having topographic and strategic advantages, a good water supply, and good drainage, allowing for better long-term health for the soldiers stationed there. Indeed, the southwestern hill of Jerusalem fits these requirements. The summit of the southwestern hill extends over an area of approximately 20–25 hectares. It is the highest of Jerusalem's hills and has a more or less leveled and well-drained surface, with the elevated podium of Herod's palace in the northwest (the Citadel, David's Tower, and the Armenian Garden of today). Water was supplied by the high-level and low-level aqueducts of the Second Temple period that were reconstructed and maintained throughout the Roman period. Thirty-one Latin inscriptions engraved on the conduits of the high-level aqueduct to Jerusalem and carrying a curvilinear sign, a symbol of *centurio* or *centuria*, followed by the name of the centurion in command provide the Roman dating and military identity of the aqueduct's repairers.[22]

The testimony of Josephus (Jos. *BJ*, 7:1–2) further supports the western location, indicating that sections of the old fortifications on the western side of the city were left intact for the army's defense.

The archaeological remains that were discovered throughout the southwestern hill make it possible (in the author's opinion) to suggest with caution that this was the area of the army camp. Here is a brief overview of these findings.[23]

21 Isaac 1990:427.

22 Vetrali 1968; Di Segni 2002:40–47.

23 Remains that have already been described and discussed in the research literature are mentioned in brief. New findings are presented in greater detail. For comprehensive descriptions of the archaeological finds of the Roman period in Jerusalem, see Tsafrir 1999a, Geva 1993, *inter alia*.

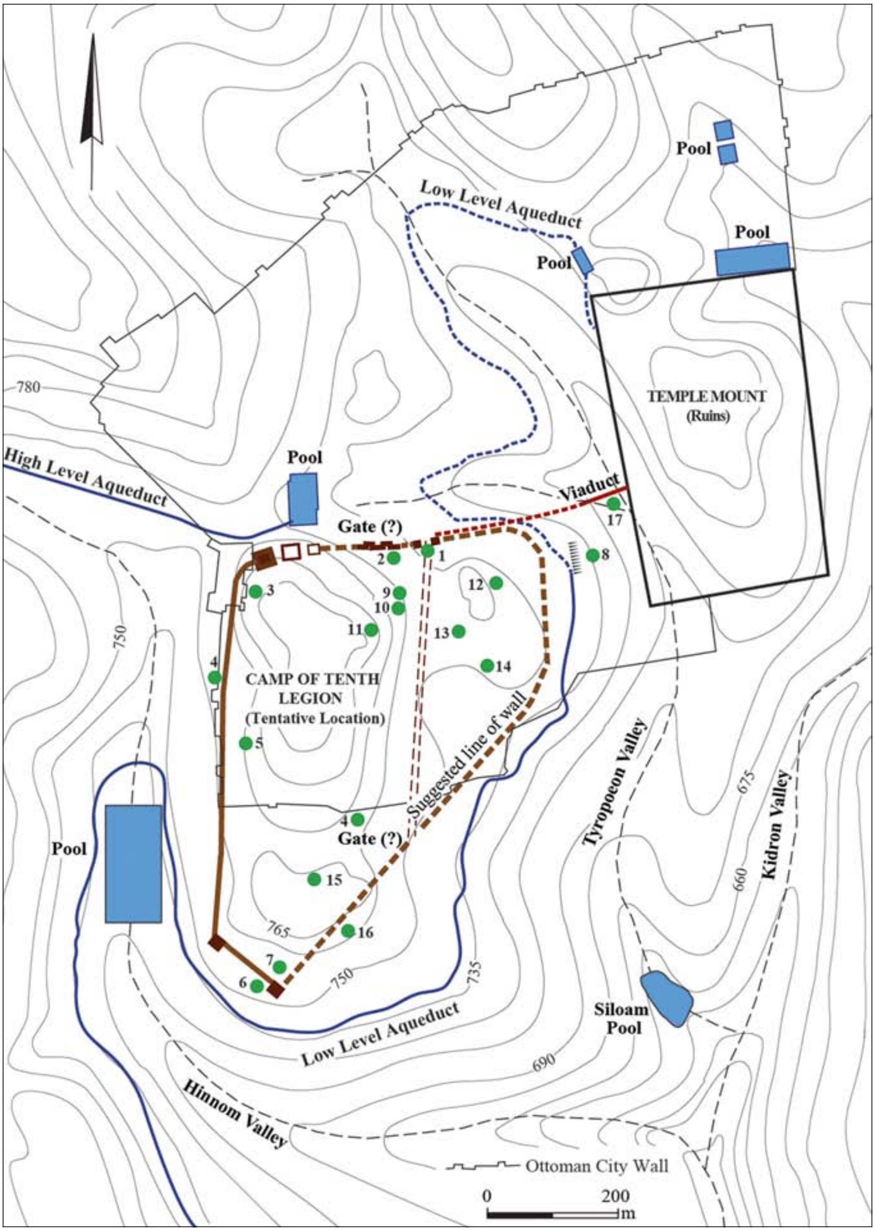

FIGURE 12 The reconstruction of the Tenth Legion camp in Jerusalem, c. 70–130 CE, Weksler-Bdolah's proposal, with second-fourth-century findspots
DRAWING: NATALYA ZAK; COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

The Camp's Fortifications and Related Structures

The identification of the camp's fortifications is a difficult challenge for researchers of Jerusalem and no remains have been attributed with absolute certainty to these defenses. However, a reexamination of sections of walls, towers, a moat, steep natural cliffs, and even the structure of a gate described in the past along the route that I believe delimited the camp justifies the cautious proposal that these remains are indeed contemporaneous and were incorporated into the line of defenses that surrounded the military camp. It is difficult to prove this assumption however, as most of the remains were documented in the late nineteenth–early twentieth century and there is no secure dating for them. Recent excavations in some nearby locations shed light on this issue.

The camp's fortifications in the north and west consisted of sections of earlier fortifications from the First Wall of the Second Temple period, which were repaired and incorporated into a continuous line surrounding the camp area. Yet the northern line of the First Wall was abandoned several years before 70 CE and the condition of its remains by that year is unknown.

A probable gate-structure that was discovered in the past may be interpreted as having been part of the camp's northern gate (Figs. 12:1; 13). This is an arched entrance (3.2 m wide, 4.5 m high) that was unearthed on the eastern side of Chabad–Jewish Quarter/HaYehudim Street, opposite its intersection with St. Mark Street.[24] The opening is incorporated in a wall that continues from north to south and was interpreted as an indirect entrance gate within a wall running from east to west (Fig. 14).

Warren identified it as the Second Temple-period Gennath Gate mentioned by Josephus (Jos. *BJ* 5:145), but most researchers believe that the gate post-dates the Second Temple period and estimate the time of its construction as being Roman or Byzantine. Wilson suggested that it was no earlier than the fifth or sixth century CE, while Vincent assumed that it was a tower gate in the wall of the camp of X Fretensis at the time when the camp extended over the whole summit of the southwestern hill in 70–130 CE (Fig. 14). Tsafrir suggested that the gate was an Early Islamic construction.[25] It is sometimes referred to as the Gennath Gate or the Café Bashourah Gate.

Café Bashourah is a square building (8 × 8 m) located in the center of the Old City, near the intersection of David–es-Silsilah with Chabad–Jewish Quarter (HaYehudim) Streets. In the center of the café's hall are four monolithic

24 Wilson and Warren 1871:274–286; Warren and Conder 1884:234–235.

25 See Wilson 1906 136–137; Vincent and Abel 1914–1926, Pl. 1; Vincent and Steve 1954:54–56, Fig. 17; Tsafrir 1975:60–65, 317–318. For a summary, see Gutfeld 2012 23–25 and below.

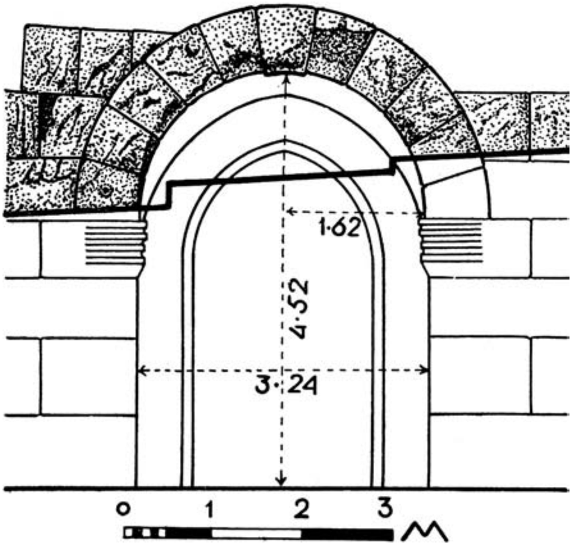

FIGURE 13 The arch in Chabad/Jewish Quarter Street. "Bashourah's Gate"
AFTER VINCENT AND STEVE 1954: FIG. 15

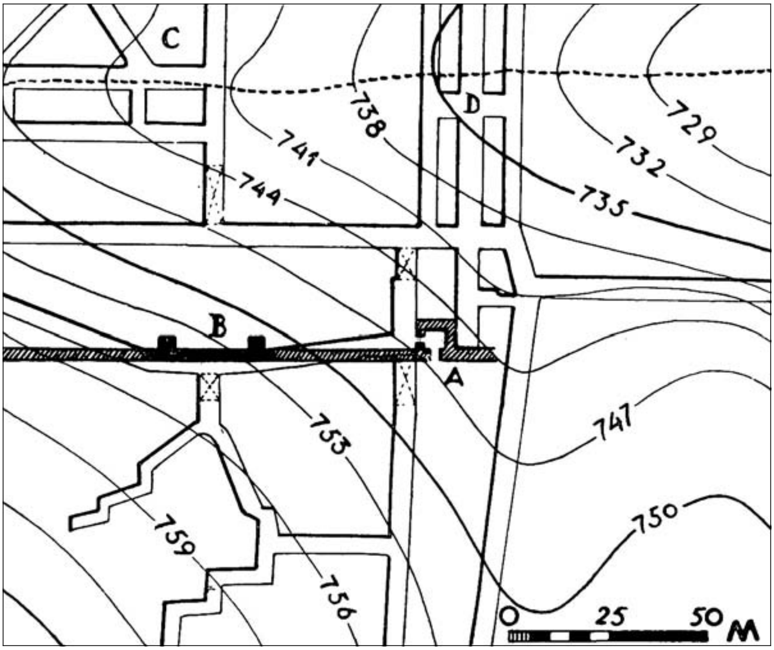

FIGURE 14 Reconstruction of the fortifications along St. Mark Street
AFTER VINCENT AND STEVE 1954: FIG. 17

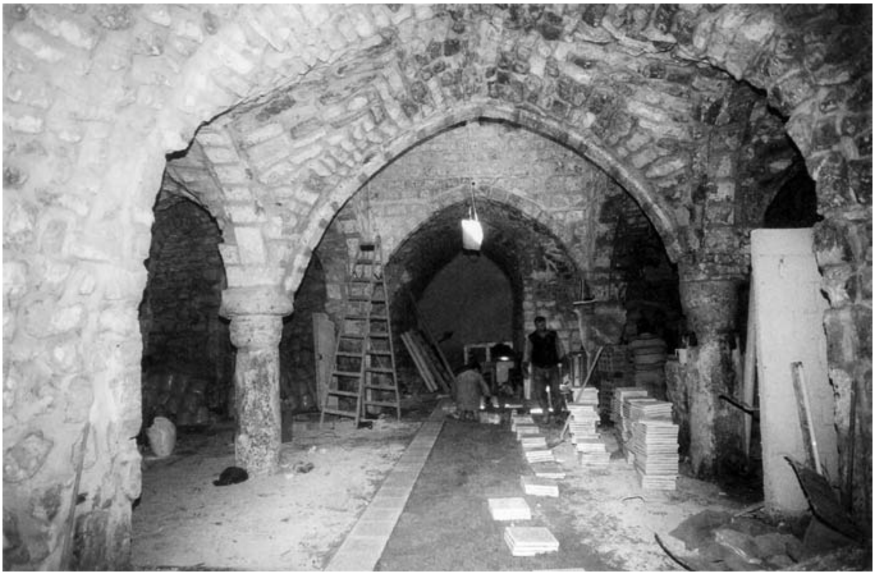

FIGURE 15 Café Bashourah: Four monolithic columns arranged in a square. Looking north
GUTFELD 2012:24, PHOTO 1.14, COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL EXPLORATION SOCIETY

columns arranged in a square (4.5×4.5 m) and it has been proposed that they are preserved from a monument, presumably a *tetrapylon*, that once adorned the intersection of the Roman city's main streets (Fig. 15).[26]

The gate structure discussed above is located a few meters to the south-southwest of the café hall, on the east side of Beit HaBad/Khan e-Zeit Street. Vincent rightly, in my view, identified it as a northern gate of the X Fretensis military camp and considered the structure of the gate and the café as belonging to one compound (25×15 m), which he named, in short, the Gate of Bashourah (Fig. 14, above).[27] In his suggested plan of the camp of the Tenth Legion in Jerusalem, Wilson also placed the northern gate of the camp in this exact spot (Fig. 5, above).[28]

The columns in the center of Café Bashourah preserve, in my opinion, a monument that is possibly a *tetrapylon*, as suggested above. However, I believe that this monument also marked the 'starting point' of the imperial roads that led to and from Jerusalem.[29]

---

26 See Germer-Durand 1892; Tsafrir 1999a: Plan of Jerusalem in the fourth century.
27 Vincent and Steve 1954:54–56, Fig. 17; Gutfeld 2012:24.
28 Wilson 1905 140.
29 The suggestion to locate the 'starting point' of Aelia Capitolina in front of the northern

Approximately 40 m west of the Bashourah Gate, in the Lutheran Hostel along the northern side of St. Mark Street, two towers and a 30 m long wall section between them were noted by C. Schick in 1862. The remains were discussed later by various scholars. It was assumed that this section of wall and towers belonged to the camp's northern wall (Fig. 12:2).[30]

Another short section of an east–west running wall (3–4 m long, c. 4 m wide) was unearthed recently (2015) along the same line, between Bashoura Gate and the Lutheran Hostel.[31] The section is located inside a shop on the southern side of St. Mark Street, c. 3 m west of Bashourah Gate. The excavator, Evgeni D. Kagan of the Israel Antiquities Authority, dated the wall to the Roman period (second–third centuries) and not before the second century.[32] It is not improbable, in my view, that the wall—whose structure resembles the wall in the Lutheran Hostel—was part of the same line of fortifications and that both of them formed part of the camp's defenses.

Further to the west, near the northwestern corner of the First Wall, stands the Tower of David, now combined in the wall of the Citadel (Fig. 12:3). The Tower of David is usually recognized as the Phasael or the Hippicos Tower, one of the three towers built by King Herod north of his palace along the First Wall (Jos. *BJ* 5: 161–169, 176). The tower may have been incorporated in the defense of the northwestern corner of the camp. South of the Tower of David, some sections of the First Wall have been revealed, with square towers protruding to the west. The curved contour of the northwest corner (Fig. 12:3) is typical of Roman military camps. A thickening of the First Wall that has been identified in the Citadel may represent Roman restoration of the First Wall after 70 CE.[33]

Other sections of the First Wall were discovered south of the Citadel, along the western side of the Ottoman city wall,[34] and further south. On Mount Zion, approximately 200 m south of the southwest corner of the old city wall, Maudsley documented a hewn cliff running from north to south, then turning south-

gate of the camp, at a spot which after the foundation of the Roman city became the intersection between the camp and the city, is discussed below, see The Starting Point of the Imperial Roads [chapter 7].

30 Others identify it as part of the First Wall of the Second Temple period; see De Vogüé 1864:112; Vincent 1902; Vincent and Steve 1954:54–56, Fig. 17; Kuemmel 1904; Simons 1952: 254–255; Johns 1950:124, Fig. 3; Macalister 1906 298–300; Tsafrir 1975:56–58, 1999a:131–132. Bear (1993:47) suggested identifying it as part of the southern wall of Aelia Capitolina.

31 Between points A and B in Fig. 14.

32 With thanks to Evgeni D. Kagan for the information (pers. comm.). A final report of the excavation awaits publication in *ʿAtiqot*.

33 Amiran and Eitan 1970:15; Tsafrir 1999a 131.

34 Broshi and Gibson 1994.

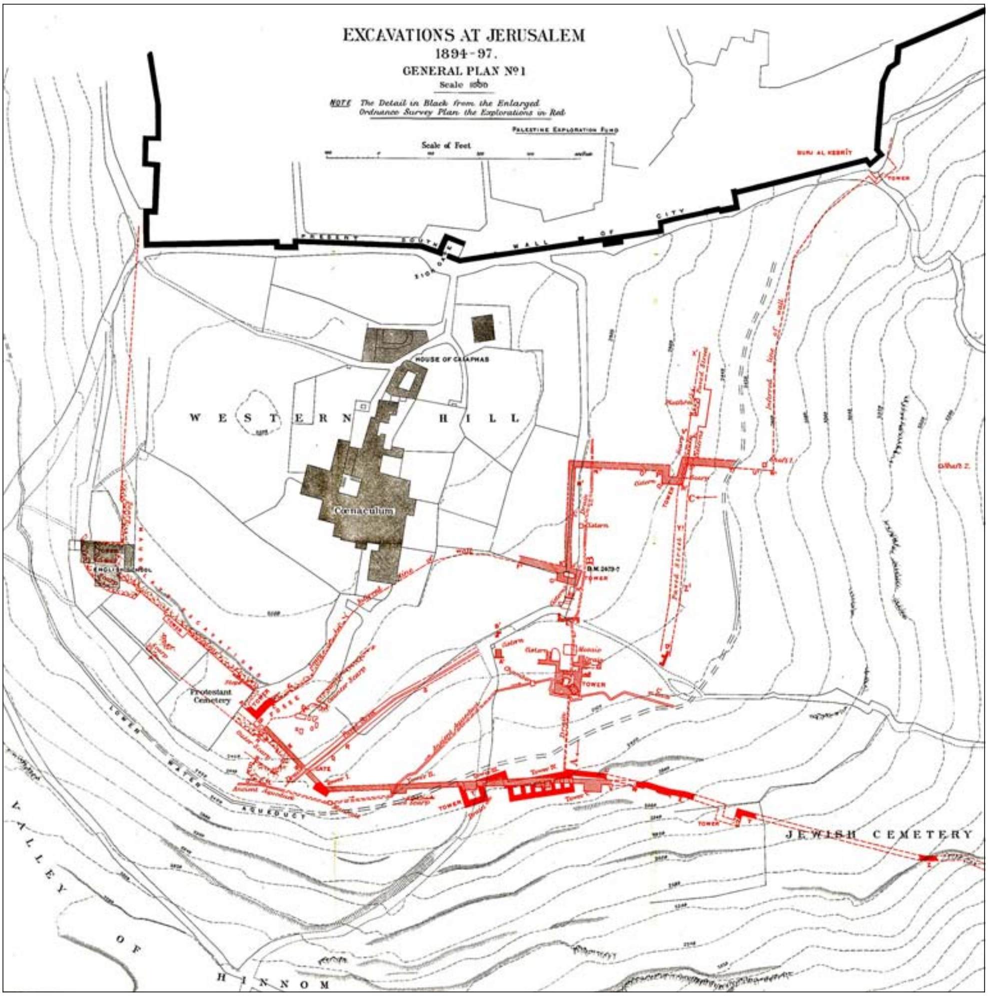

FIGURE 16 Line of fortifications on the slopes of Mt. Zion
BLISS AND DICKIE 1898: GENERAL PLAN 1

east and continuing for another 150 m along a straight axis, ending in a prominent tower in the southeast corner, marked AB in Bliss and Dickie's plan (Fig. 16, Tower, east of Protestant Cemetery).[35] Hewn towers protrude out of the cliff face and fallen ashlars were documented along its foot. The cliff and the towers were thought to belong to a section of the First Wall that was destroyed in 70 CE.

35 The remains were described by Conder 1875a, b, plan facing p. 82; Bliss and Dickie 1898:2–4, general plan No. 1.

A massive, tower-like structure (8 × 4 m) located a few meters away from the edge of the south cliff of Mount Zion, slightly north of the southernmost tower (Bliss and Dickie's Tower AB) was recently re-excavated (Fig. 12:7).[36] The structure was documented in the late nineteenth century by Conder and again by Abel.[37] The external southern wall (8 m long) and the western wall (4 m long) are built of large ashlars, some of which are reused Herodian stones, with drafted margins along their faces. The structure appears to be later than the Herodian and earlier than the Byzantine periods, thus a Roman date may be suggested. This tower might be part of the fortifications of the camp, as the strategic advantage of its prominent location is clear.

From Tower AB in the southeast, a hewn moat that was partly documented in the past runs northeast, around the summit of Mount Zion, dividing it from the lower slopes of the hill.[38] Bliss and Dickie, followed by others, suggested that the moat was medieval in age, but ditches and moats were used for defense in many Roman camps and there is a possibility that the moat was originally carved in the Roman period as part of the camp's fortifications. The steep slopes of the southwestern hill were recently revealed further north in an excavation conducted in the northwest Western Wall Plaza (Fig. 12:8).[39] It became evident that the natural steep slopes of the western hill were accentuated by quarrying operations during the First and Second Temple periods. It would be reasonable to assume that the Roman legion took advantage of this topography and settled across the summit of the hill, protected by the steep slopes. Some kind of fortification was probably built on top of the rock cliff, or slightly away from it, but the remains of such a wall have not yet been discovered on top of the cliff.

In conclusion, the remains that might constitute the defenses of the camp include a possible gate-tower in the center of the northern side, sections of walls and towers—including the Tower of David in the northwest—a hewn cliff, protruding towers in the south, and steep cliffs along the eastern side. This line of fortifications enclosed the camp and separated it from the city. The walls were not designed to defend the camp from enemies and were therefore not massive. A similar dividing wall between camp and city is known from other sites in the eastern part of the Roman Empire, as at Dura Europos, Palmyra,

---

36 The renewed excavations, on behalf of the Israel Antiquities Authority in December 2015, were directed by Neria Sapir and Amit Re'em (Israel Antiquities Authority Weekly Newsletter, No. 4615, 31.12.2015). I would like to thank the excavators for the information and their permission to cite it here.

37 Conder 1875a; Abel 1911:122–123, "angle de muraille," Fig. 1:B.

38 Bliss and Dickie 1898: Plan 1.

39 Weksler-Bdolah 2014b.

and Bostra, where the army was based near or inside existing cities.[40] The reasonable suggestion that the 'Wall of Sion' (*murum Sion*) in the *Itinerary of the Bordeaux Pilgrim* (dated to 333 CE) be identified with the walls of the legionary camp indicates that long sections of the walls were still standing long after the camp was abandoned in the late third century.[41]

The outline of the southwestern hill apparently dictated the irregular polygonal shape of the Tenth Legion's camp. Most researchers prefer to reconstruct the camp as having been quadrangular, or almost rectangular, relying on the usual outline of Roman camps.[42] However, examples of polygonal camps that were established in accordance with the local topography (e.g., Camp F of the Masada siege, or the Cologne-Alteburg naval base on a terrace above the Rhine, which had a modified trapezoidal shape adapted to the terrain)[43] allow for such a reconstruction.

A difficulty which arises from reconstructing the camp as extending around the whole summit of the southwestern hill, including Mount Zion, relates to the interpretation of Mount Zion as the center of the Jewish and Christian communities living outside Aelia Capitolina in the Roman period.[44] No church or synagogue could have been built here, had the area been included within the legionary fortress. However, recent excavations in the burial chamber of David's Tomb (below) have found that the structure was not built prior to the late fourth century, precluding its identification with a synagogue mentioned in the early fourth-century sources.

Structures, Roads and Installations inside the Camp

The camp site was presumably crossed by two roads, leading from the Café Bashourah Gate in the north to the south and from east to west (usually identified as the *via principalis* and the *via praetoria* respectively). Wilson suggested reconstructing the longitudinal road, which he named '*via principalis*', along the route of the later Byzantine Cardo (along Chabad–HaYehudim streets in the Jewish Quarter).[45] No remains of the military road are known of today, but

40 Isaac 1990:119–160 and references there.

41 Hamilton 1952:86; Tsafrir 1999a:165.

42 See suggestions of Wilson, Vincent and Abel, Tsafrir, and Mazar, above.

43 For Camp F, see Arubas and Goldfus 2008b:1938–1939. For the Cologne-Alteburg naval base, see Fischer and Trier 2014:283; for other polygonal camps, see Collingwood 1930:7–9, Fig. 1.

44 See Tsafrir 1999a:159–160 and references there.

45 Wilson 1905 140.

it is likely in my opinion that the southern section of the Western Cardo (below) did indeed follow the military route.

Meager remains of buildings and installations from the Roman period that have been exposed on the southwestern hill provide evidence that it was occupied during the period in question. The finds have been summarized in detail elsewhere.[46] They include the remains of a structure and ceramic pipes bearing the impressions of the x Fretensis in the courtyard of the Citadel (Fig. 12:3) and hundreds of broken pieces of roof tiles, pipes, and bricks bearing the legion's insignia in all the areas excavated in the southwestern hill, along the external face of the Ottoman Wall (Fig. 12:4), in the Armenian Garden (Fig. 12:5), and in the Jewish Quarter (Fig. 12:9, 10, and more), indicating the existence of structures that have not been preserved.[47]

A few remains exposed in recent years add to our knowledge:

The Assyrian Church of St. Mark: In the courtyard of the Assyrian Church of St. Mark in the Armenian Quarter (approximately 250 m east of the Citadel and 40 m west of the Western Cardo), two walls were partly exposed that apparently formed the northwestern corner of a structure, or of a room in a larger structure (Fig. 12:10).[48] The walls (2.0–2.5 m in length, width unknown) were only exposed along their inner faces. They are built of roughly hewn fieldstones arranged in homogenous courses and were preserved to a height of more than a meter, well above their foundations. The walls were sealed by a thick white gravel-like layer containing fourth-century potsherds. Below this layer, between the walls, there was a stratified earthen fill mixed with fragments of pottery vessels from the Roman period and at the bottom of the excavation was a fill mixed with ash containing fragments from the Early Roman, Second Temple period. The finds seem to date the walls to the Roman period (second–fourth centuries CE). The limited size of the excavation does not allow a full plan of the building to be drafted. However, the western wall of the recently exposed corner is located about 25 m to the south of a similar wall (25 m long, running from north to south) that was exposed in Area R of Avigad's excavations (Fig. 12:9).[49] Might these walls be part of the Roman camp's barracks?

Bircat HaTorah Yeshiva. Approximately 80 m southwest of the Assyrian Church of St. Mark, an excavation inside a building of Bircat HaTorah Yeshiva,

---

46 Tsafrir 1999a:124–128; Geva 1993:758–767.

47 For the citadel, see Johns 1950; Amiran and Eitan 1970; Geva 1994a:163. For the Armenian Garden, see Tushingham 1985; for the Jewish Quarter, see Geva 2003.

48 I thank the excavator on behalf of the Israel Antiquities Authority, Ron Lavi, for the information and authorization to cite it. A final report is due to be published in *ʿAtiqot*.

49 For plan, see Geva 1993:730.

on the southern side of Or HaHayim Street, near Arrarat Street, revealed a Roman stratum consisting of short segments of walls (along an east–west axis) and fragmented floor sections (Fig. 12:11). Earthen fills containing a multitude of potsherds dating from the Roman period (second–fourth centuries CE) and rooftiles bearing the stamp of the Legion X Fretensis were also recovered.[50] The architectural remains were severely damaged during later periods. Nevertheless, they indicate a Roman presence here between the second and the fourth centuries.

Omer Street. In Omer Street inside the Jewish Quarter, approximately 100 m east of the axis of the Western Cardo, part of a large plastered installation that was presumably a pool with a bench built along its side was exposed (Fig. 12:12).[51] The excavators suggested that it may have been part of a bathhouse. A ceramic pipe covered with tiles bearing the stamp of the Tenth Legion was incorporated in the construction of the pool. Below the pool's plastered floor were fragments of vessels dating from 70–130 CE.

Avigad's Excavations, Arera N. In Area N in Avigad's excavations east of the Hurva synagogue and about 50 m east of the Western Cardo, the corner of a large building whose function is unknown was discovered (Fig. 12:13). The walls are 9.5 m long and 1.7–2.0 m wide, with no internal division. Between the walls was an earthen fill containing fragments of pottery vessels dating from the Roman period (second–fourth centuries CE). It may be assumed that this corner belongs to the foundation of a large Roman-period building that was not preserved.[52]

Roman pottery vessels. Another finding that highlights the presence of Romans, probably soldiers, on the southwestern hill in the late first–early second centuries CE is a group of more than ten complete or nearly complete pottery vessels discovered in a Second Temple-period cistern in Area F of the Jewish Quarter excavations directed by Avigad (Fig. 12:14). Some of the vessels, including bowls and oil lamps, were published by Avigad as belonging to the Second Temple period. A reexamination of the vessels by R. Rosenthal-Heginbottom revealed that some were made in the kilns of the Tenth Legion at Binyanei Ha-Umma and others were similar to those found in the Roman dump exposed beneath the pavement of the Eastern Cardo (below). The pottery assemblage dates from between 70 and 130 CE.[53]

---

50 The excavation (A-8088/2017), conducted on behalf of the Israel Antiquities Authority in 2017–2018, was directed by the author. A report of the finds will be published in the *'Atiqot* series.

51 Sion and Rapuano 2014; Rapuano 2014:428–431.

52 Geva 2014a 100–106, Str. 1b.

53 Avigad 1983:198, 204, Figs. 233, 252; Rosenthal-Heginbottom 2015: Figs. 1b, 5, 2017: Figs. 12, 15, 20a, b.

Mount Zion, David's Tomb: Limited excavations were undertaken recently by the Israel Antiquities Authority in the burial chamber of David's Tomb on Mount Zion (Fig. 12:15). A coin of the late fourth century in the core of the external wall of the building, as well as potsherds of a similar date found under the lower floor that abutted the wall, allow a late fourth-century *terminus post quem* to be established for the building's construction. In the excavator's opinion, the building was probably related to the Church of Hagia Sion in the Byzantine period, but some architectural elements (fragments of columns and a Corinthian capital) that were exposed in secondary use in the excavation may originate in a Roman structure that stood nearby and was not preserved.[54]

Other remains of the Roman period (second–fourth centuries CE), including small segments of a floor of rectangular stone slabs and a set of drainage channels, were recently discovered approximately 60–70 m southeast of the Tomb of David, in Mount Zion's lower parking lot (Fig. 12:16).[55] Although they were dated to the Roman period, it was not possible to determine whether the remains were part of a private residence or a public structure.

The Great Causeway: An important structure that was recently re-investigated is a Roman bridge connecting the slopes of the southwestern hill and the Temple Mount that probably carried a narrow road into the Temple Mount (Figs. 12:17; 17). It is a long, arched Roman bridge lying under es-Silsilah Street, immediately west of the Temple Mount.[56] The entire structure of the Great Causeway was first investigated in the second half of the nineteenth century and given a variety of names: 'Giant Viaduct', 'Great Causeway', or 'Wilson's Bridge'.[57] It includes the monumental Wilson's Arch, which is integrated in the Western Wall of the Temple Mount, and two rows of arches abutting each other that were built later to the west of Wilson's Arch, the northern row being the earlier of the two and the southern row the later. Both rows of arches are founded on a 14 m wide dam wall that was built across the Tyropoeon Valley in the Second Temple period.

Onn's excavations dated the construction of the northern row (also named 'northern bridge', some 80 m long and about 6–7 m wide) to between 70–130 CE, possibly around or even before the foundation of Aelia Capitolina.[58] This date

54 Re'em 2013 240.
55 Sapir 2015.
56 Onn, Weksler-Bdolah and Bar Nathan 2011; Onn and Weksler-Bdolah 2017.
57 Wilson 1880:22–30; Warren and Conder 1884:193–209; Avi-Yonah 1956: plan 10.
58 Onn and Weksler-Bdolah 2017:91. According to other suggestions, the whole bridge was a construction of the Second Temple period and carried the 'Low-Level Aqueduct' toward

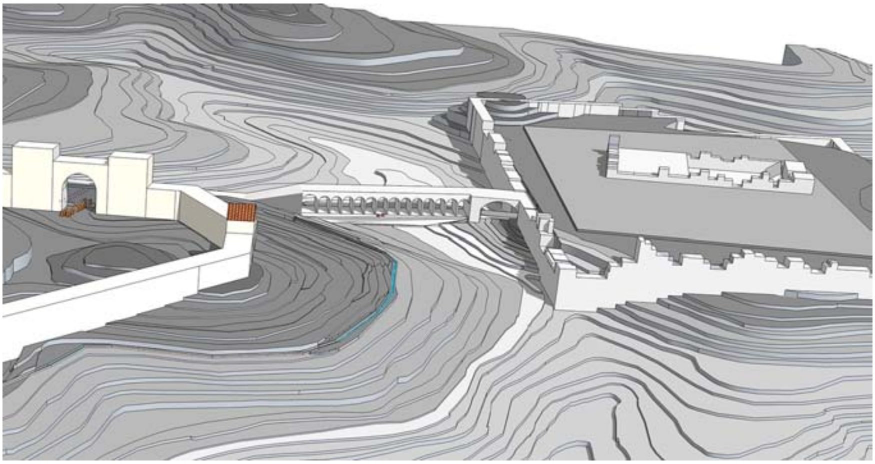

FIGURE 17 Author's reconstruction of the narrow bridge that connected the legion's camp and the Temple Mount. The reconstruction of the bridge is based on archaeological finds, while the military camp (left) and the ruins of the Temple Mount (right) are for illustrative purposes only
DRAWING: YAKOV SHMIDOV; COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

relies on the stratigraphy of the site.[59] In some cases, the piers (supports) of the northern bridge seal plastered installations of the Second Temple period (one of which was identified as a ritual bath), which were hewn into the surface of the dam wall, probably during the Great Revolt of the Jews against the Romans. These plastered installations were blocked with earthen fills prior to the bridge's construction and the surface of the dam wall was then cleared and leveled. Since the latest finds within the earthen fills inside the installations were dated to the late first–early second centuries CE, it is apparent that the northern bridge was not constructed before the early second century.

It was probably at this stage, when the Tenth Legion established its camp on the southwestern hill, that soldiers began clearing the area around the camp and installing access roads to and from it. According to our suggestion, one road in which the 'northern bridge' was incorporated ran across the Tyropoeon Valley towards the Temple Mount.[60]

the Temple Mount. It was ruined in 70 CE and reconstructed later (Wilson 1865:28, Pl. XII; 1880 22–30, *inter alia*).

59 Onn and Weksler-Bdolah 2017:89–90.

60 Onn and Weksler-Bdolah 2017:89–94.

The construction of the bridge indicates the importance of the Temple Mount in the eyes of the Roman soldiers, despite the fact that the Jewish Temple was destroyed and parts of the *temenos* walls dismantled. There are several possible reasons for this:

1. Obviously, the Temple Mount was still a high, prominent site that dominated its surroundings. From the top of the compound, and certainly from the southeast corner, there was good strategic control of the area, especially toward the east. It is highly likely that the soldiers carried out regular patrols of the Temple Mount, perhaps even establishing a military observation post somewhere on the mount.
2. Furthermore, it is unlikely that the Romans ignored the ruins of the Jewish Temple that still stood in the center of the compound and attracted visitors (Jews and others). Under these conditions, it is conceivable that the Romans sought to demonstrate their presence on the Temple Mount, if only to highlight their victory and supremacy.
3. Another option that can tentatively be proposed is that the Roman presence on the Temple Mount was also associated with its recognition as a holy site, if only because of traditions identifying it as such for over a thousand years. The behavior of Titus in the Holy of Holies[61] and the Roman soldiers who were reluctant to enter the ruins of the Jewish Temple for superstitious reasons, as mentioned by Dio Cassius (Dio Cass. LXVI, 6: 1), add support to this theory. In this context, a fragment by the Church Father Hippolytus (170–236 CE) in a section of his commentary on Matthew records a tradition that a statue of Kore was erected on the site of the Temple Mount by a Roman Legion under "Traianus Quietus"—clearly a conflation of Quietus and Trajan, who appointed Quietus as governor of Judaea.[62] Another fragment describes the "abomination of desolation" as meaning the statue of Caesar set up before the altar in Jerusalem.[63] Clermont-Ganneau, followed by others, cited this testimony as indicating the existence of the emperor's cult on the Temple Mount in as early as

61 *Josephus, Jewish War*, 6, 254–266.

62 "Said Hippolytus: … and Vespasian did not erect an idol in the Temple, but the legion brought by Trajanus Quintus, the first man of the Romans, did erect an idol there, called Kore," in Pucci Ben Zeev 2005:83, no. 55; Hippolytus, *In Matthaeum* 24:15–22, preserved in Dionysius Bar-Salibi, *GCS* 1 244–245.

63 "Hippolytus for his part says: The pollution of the desert, he said, is the image of Caesar that was set up before the altar in Jerusalem," in Pucci Ben Zeev 2005:82, no. 54; Hippolytus, *In Matthaeum* 24:15–22. Origen (*GCS* 41/1:193–194) speaks of statues of Hadrian and Gaius (or Titus) on the ruins of the Temple in terms of Daniel's "Abomination of Desolation" (Newman 2014:37, note 20).

117–118 CE.[64] In this regard it is possible to suggest that Hadrian's decision a few years later to build a Temple to Jupiter on the Temple Mount[65] was prompted by the same reasons. In Carthage, too, the Roman Capitolium was constructed on the ruins of the Punic Temple.[66]

The Roman Dump on the Slopes of the Southwestern Hill

Indirect evidence for the presence of Roman soldiers west of the Temple Mount, possibly on the southwestern hill, was recently revealed in excavations along the Eastern Cardo, in the northwest part of the Western Wall Plaza (Fig. 12:8). Here, the Cardo's course was hewn through the slopes of the southwestern hill, along a north–south direction (Fig. 18).

The excavations exposed an accumulation of dump in a deep, abandoned quarry pit that was located along the route of the street and required filling in and leveling prior to the paving itself (Fig. 19).[67] The filling material (i.e. the dump) was presumably brought from a nearby military dump and contained organic material that was burned at the site itself. It was rich in artifacts that appear to have originated in the military camp. The main finds were three military bread stamps, two complete and one broken (Figs. 10, 20) and a very rich and varied assemblage of broken pottery vessels (Fig. 21).

Many of these vessels were produced in the kilns of the X Fretensis at Binyanei Ha-Umma. They were accompanied by vessels made in the local traditions prevalent in Jerusalem before the destruction of the Second Temple as well as imported vessels, including amphorae, lamps and fine tableware. Of the faunal remains, pigs were the most common species, constituting over 60 percent of the finds, and the bones were assigned to domesticated piglets—a hallmark of the Roman military diet. The dump, dated to 70–130 CE, obviously belonged to Roman soldiers, indicating their presence in the vicinity of the find spot. The importance of the find stems from the fact that, for the first time, a sealed assemblage of finds that could be clearly attributed to the Roman army and dated to 70–130 CE was unearthed in Jerusalem.[68]

---

64 Clermont-Ganneau 1905; Smallwood 1976:423, note 137; Friedheim 2000:204–206, Safrai 1999:19–20, *inter alia*.

65 Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 69, 12.

66 Rakob 2000:79.

67 Only the southern part of the quarry's fill had been excavated, extending over an area of approximately 9 × 5 m and 3.5 m deep.

68 See Weksler-Bdolah 2014b:54–56. For the bread-stamps, see Di Segni and Weksler-Bdolah

FIGURE 18 The Eastern Cardo in the Western Wall Plaza excavations, looking southwest. A rock-hewn cliff runs along the west side of the street. Hewn cells (probably shops) are carved at the bottom of the cliff. In the lower right corner: Remains of a seventh-century BCE (Iron Age) building sealed under the Roman street's pavement. Left: Flagstones and portico of the Roman Cardo
PHOTO: S. WEKSLER-BDOLAH; COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

Apart from the Roman finds, the dump also contained artifacts that derived from private houses (such as fragments of stone vessels and frescoes) and were typical of the Herodian houses of the Upper City. It can therefore be assumed that the finds originated from the clearing of collapsed Second Temple-period buildings along with the refuse of soldiers and officers stationed on the summit of the southwestern hill.

Taken together, the archaeological finds from around the southwestern hill and especially the bridge along the route connecting the hill with the Temple Mount prompt the possibility that the summit of the southwestern hill was

---

2012; for the pottery finds, see Rosenthal-Heginbottom 2015, 2017; Weksler-Bdolah and Rosenthal-Heginbottom 2014:48–58; for the faunal finds, see Kolska-Horwitz, forthcoming.

FIGURE 19 The Roman dump inside an abandoned quarry along the axis of the Eastern Cardo. Looking north

FIGURE 20 Military breadstamp from the Roman dump in the Western Wall Plaza Excavations. Left: sealing surface; Right: stamp's long side. > CASPE (Centuria) Caspe(rii), CANIN (Opus) Canin(ii), (Century) of Casperius. (Work) of Caninius READING: LEAH DI SEGNI; PHOTOS: CLARA AMIT; COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

FIGURE 21 Vessels from the Roman dump in the Western Wall Plaza. A: Fragment of Broneer Type XXI lamp, with left-harnessed horse-head volute preserved; B: wall fragment of drinking vessel, showing seated male figure in pensive mood, identified as Saturn; C: fragment of mold-made jug handle, decorated with Dionysiac motifs: Head of old satyr, panther and bowl of fruit; D: mold-made escutcheon of a wine jug, or pitcher, with image of Eros the hunter
POTTERY RESEARCH: RENATE ROSENTHAL-HEGINBOTTOM; PHOTOS: CLARA AMIT; COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

indeed inhabited, and surrounded with a wall, soon after the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE.

A Few Comments Relating to the Army in Aelia Capitolina

Possible Reasons for the Sparsity of Remains of the Roman Army Camp in Jerusalem

One cannot underestimate the difficulty caused by the absence of irrefutable evidence of the Roman army camp in Jerusalem. According to one possibility, the camp's remains have not yet been exposed and it may have lain in the northern part of the city, where no excavations have yet been carried out.[69] This possibility is less reasonable in my view in light of the historical testimony, which describes the camp's establishment within the area of the ruined Herodian city, near its western wall, in the vicinity of the three towers (the Citadel).

Yoram Tsafrir suggested that the architectural remains of the camp's structures were mostly damaged and removed by later construction activity on the southwestern hill.[70] Indeed, recent excavations conducted in the Bircat HaTorah Yeshiva building (above, Chapter 2, note 50) support this explanation. The excavations revealed meager building remains of the Roman period constructed on the bedrock. These Roman structures were obviously damaged by the foundations of a Medieval structure, also based on bedrock, which damaged and removed almost all the ancient remains.

Hillel Geva suggested that the camp in Jerusalem was not a typical, standard Roman camp, but a temporary, unfortified camp, which he described as an "area of encampment of the Tenth Legion" in the southwestern hill.[71] In his opinion, the legion's headquarters were in the area of the three towers, and a few detachments were encamped on top of the hill in temporary structures of which almost nothing has survived, except the rooftiles. The fact that the camp was unwalled and sparsely inhabited explains its 'absence' in the archaeological record. However, as Tsafrir argued in reply, it was inconceivable that a permanent camp of the Roman army such as the Tenth Legion's camp in Jerusalem, which was stationed on the site for over two hundred years, had no standard plan with a surrounding wall.[72]

---

69 A possibility raised by Isaac 1990:427.

70 Tsafrir 1999a:129, note 39.

71 Geva 1984.

72 Tsafrir 1999a:129–130.

At this stage, there is no acceptable solution to the problem of the 'lack of remains'. Another argument that may cautiously be proposed relates to the mode of the camp's evacuation and the fate of the abandoned campgrounds thereafter. Polybius and Josephus recorded that the evacuation of a military camp during battle followed a set procedure.[73] The evacuation of a permanent camp probably also had an established, systematic system, even though no descriptions are preserved in the historical sources. Archaeological remains in Legio supports this suggestion.[74] In this scenario, large structures such as the Tower of David were preserved to be used by the army units that remained in the city long after the legion was transferred to Aela,[75] but most of the buildings in the camp grounds were probably dismantled. Building materials were collected in piles and lightweight materials that could be used to build the next camp were loaded onto wagons and taken with the soldiers. It is likely that the heavy building materials—ashlars, for example, and possibly also rooftiles that were left in piles in the area of the camp—were later 'robbed' and utilized in the construction of buildings around the city. Indeed, stones carrying fragments of Latin inscriptions, including inscriptions of the Legio X Fretensis, were reused as building stones in later buildings throughout the city and they may well have come from the camp's dismantled buildings.[76]

The Role of the Army in Aelia Capitolina

The abundant motifs associated with the Tenth Legion found on coins of the city of Aelia Capitolina confirm that its citizens consisted of legionary veterans.[77] The coins bear depictions of the legion's various standards, the most distinctive being the boar and the war galley, together with more general symbols like the eagle or the Dioscuri twins—the sons of Zeus who were patrons of the army—and the dolphin. Tyche, the city goddess, is portrayed on coins of Aelia

---

73 Polybius (Polyb. *Hist.* VI, 40:1–3); Josephus (Jos. *BJ*, 3:89–92). "The following is their manner of breaking up camp. Immediately upon the signal being given they take down the tents and every one packs up. No tent, however, may be either taken down or set up before those of the tribunes and consul. On the second signal they load the pack animals, and on the third the leaders of the column must advance and set the whole camp in movement" (Polybius, ibid).

74 "Excavations of the remains of an early Christian prayer hall at Kefar 'Othnay and at the legionary base at Legio suggest an orderly exit of the legion and the systematic abandonment and dismantlement of the military infrastructure" (Adams *et. al.* 2019:69).

75 A Mauri cavalry unit is mentioned in the *Notitia Dignitatum* (*Not. Dign. Or*. 34.21: *Equites Mauri Illyriciani, Aeliae*). Presence of a cavalry unit in the city is mentioned also by Jerome in his letter to Paulinus of Nola (Hier. *Ep*.58: 4,4: *in qua alla militium*).

76 See, for example, *CIIP* 1.2, 726, 727, 729.

77 Meshorer 1989:28–29, Catalogue. Nos. 3–5, 17, 21–23, 30–34, *inter alia*.

Capitolina in distinctly warrior-like form in keeping with the city's military character. On many coins she is shown together with the legionary standard.

The presence of soldiers of the Tenth and other legions in Jerusalem is also attested to by the epigraphic finds, including inscriptions on milestones,[78] and by quite a number of dedicatory inscriptions on structures and sculptures erected in the city by the army units.[79] Among the building inscriptions is one that was dedicated by a freed slave in honor of the emperor Hadrian in which five legions are mentioned, the Tenth, the Second, the Twelfth, and two legions whose names were not preserved.[80] A dedicatory inscription for a temple discovered in the Armenian Quarter of the Old City, apparently from the second century, indicates the possible presence of a military unit from North Africa.[81] A large *tabula ansata* measuring c. 3–3.5 m long and 1 m high was dedicated to Hadrian by the Tenth Legion (Fig. 23, below).[82] Other building inscriptions naming the Tenth Legion Fretensis,[83] demonstrate the army's involvement in urban construction in Aelia Capitolina, although it is not possible to determine if these were municipal or military buildings. The army's presence is also indicated by a *graffito* mentioning a centurion engraved on the upper margin of a Herodian stone incorporated in the western wall of the Temple Mount, near the southwest corner.[84] Epitaphs to soldiers,[85] military bread stamps bearing the names of legionaries,[86] and scores of roof tiles, bricks, and ceramic pipes

78 Isaac and Gichon 1974; Reich and Billig 2003.

79 For example, *CIIP* 1.2, 705, 706, 707, 713, 720; the latter is a massive stone slab carrying a Latin inscription and identified as a fragment of a monumental building inscription which belongs to an arch and was documented in the Islamic Museum on the Temple Mount (max. height 0.97 m, width 0.75 m, thickness 0.27 m). Its original location is not known, but it is assumed to be not too far from the Temple Mount. Grüll attributed the inscription to the Flavian period, suggesting it was set on a monumental arch erected in honor of Vespasian by L. Flavius Silva Nonius Bassus, the second governor of Judaea after the destruction of Jerusalem. Alternatively, Eck and Cotton suggest that the arch was erected by the colony of Aelia Capitolina to honor a reigning emperor and cannot be dated before Hadrian. See Grüll 2006:200, 2007; Cotton and Eck 2009.

80 *CIIP* 1.2, 717.

81 *CIIP* 1.2, 706; Isaac 1999:177, "For the salvation of the Emperor this sanctuary (was dedicated) to the Genius of Africa," or "For the salvation of the Emperor this sanctuary (was dedicated) to the Genius by a vexillation from Africa."

82 *CIIP* 1.2, 715; Avner et al 2014, Ecker and Cotton 2019. See discussion below. A *tabula ansata* is a rectangular frame with dovetail handles.

83 *CIIP* 1.2, 725, 726, 727.

84 'Centuria of Domitius Firmus', see Di Segni 2011a.

85 *CIIP* 1.2, 732–734,736. Another epitaph to a soldier was recently discovered in the Damascus Gate area (Weksler-Bdolah and Di Segni, *in prep.*).

86 Di Segni and Weksler-Bdolah 2012; *CIIP* 1.2, 755, 757, 761.

impressed with the stamp of the Tenth Legion Fretensis provide further evidence (below). Most of the inscriptions are in Latin, which was the language of the Roman army, and a few are in Greek.

The stationing of an army legion within a civilian city was not customary in the western part of the Roman Empire, although it was known in the Empire's eastern region.[87] Remains of buildings identified as belonging to military camps were recognized in the cities of Dura Europos,[88] Palmyra,[89] and Bostra.[90] To date, Aelia Capitolina is the only Roman colony found to have contained a legionary camp. The relationship between the soldiers of the Tenth Legion and the inhabitants of Aelia Capitolina is unknown. On the one hand, it is generally assumed that the Roman army distinguished itself from the civilian population, existing in a camp with marked and recognized borders.[91] On the other hand, the soldiers married local women.[92] They established families, who lived in the city and near the camp, and maintained daily contact with the community. After retiring from the army, many of the veterans continued to live in the city with their families and this helped strengthen social ties between the legionaries and the city's residents. The widespread distribution of tiles and bricks stamped with the legion's name and symbols attests to the important role of the Tenth Legion in commercial and urban life. The symbols of the Tenth Legion Fretensis on the city's coins and the building inscriptions bearing its name show the significant importance of the legion in the life of the city and its inhabitants.

Some scholars have interpreted the wealth of military finds discovered at excavations in Jerusalem as evidence of the military character of Aelia Capitolina and have even called it a 'garrison town'[93] or a 'military colony',[94] but these expressions can be misleading. Aelia Capitolina was undoubtedly a civil colony, as indicated by building inscriptions which provide evidence of a city council whose *decuriones* (councilors) were in charge of municipal administration.[95]

---

87 Isaac 2010:13–14.
88 Pollard 2000:48–50; Roth 2002:387; James 2007.
89 Wiegand 1932; Kowalski 1994, 1999.
90 Lenoir 2002.
91 Pollard 1996.
92 Marriage of soldiers and local women, which was recognized by law after 197 CE, was probably already widespread before this date.
93 Bieberstein 2007:159.
94 Boatwright 2000 198, 'military colony'; Gregorovius 1898:161.
95 The city council of Aelia Capitolina is mentioned in two inscriptions: In a partially preserved inscription on a stone incorporated in the structure at Damascus Gate (*CIIP* 1.2,

The enlistment of soldiers in projects like constructing aqueducts and bridges or paving roads, which demanded high-quality engineering skills, was widespread throughout the Roman Empire and extensive evidence of this is preserved.[96] Inscriptions show that the Tenth Legion renovated the aqueducts leading to Jerusalem[97] and to Caesarea.[98] Less well known, although also supported by the evidence, is the involvement of soldiers in construction work within the cities themselves. The readily available workforce of tens of thousands of soldiers in peacetime and the high professional level of the military (as surveyors, measurers, engineers, masons, road builders, water engineers, etc.) as well the fact that they belonged to legions deployed throughout the empire meant that the Roman army could be enlisted for civilian construction purposes, although this was not common.[99] The employment of soldiers in monumental civilian building projects in cities is mentioned in historical sources. For example, the emperor Probus (who ruled in 276–282 CE) is described in *Historia Augusta* as having built bridges, temples, pillared porticoes and basilicas in many Egyptian cities with a workforce of soldiers.[100] We also know that Hadrian placed the army's soldiers at the disposal of cities that paid for their construction expenses.[101] In light of all this, it can be assumed that the available workforce of hundreds, or perhaps thousands, of soldiers in and around the city was employed in Aelia Capitolina, as has been proposed in the past.[102]

728) and in an inscription in honor of Antoninus Pius that was probably part of the plinth of a statue (*CIIP* 1.2, 718).

96 Goldsworthy 2003:146–149; MacMullen 1963:32–33.

97 Di Segni 2002.

98 Olami and Ringel 1975; Negev 1964 244–248; Barag 1964.

99 As can be understood from Pliny the Younger's requests to Trajan to dispatch professionals to help in the provinces and Trajan's responses—agreeing (e.g. Pliny *Ep*.42), or refusing on the grounds that good professionals were to be found in all the provinces (e.g., *Pliny, Ep*., 40; 62).

100 See MacMullen 1963:32, note 35: *SHA*, *probus* 9. However, the *Historia Augusta* is not the best source for this type of information. In Pollard's opinion, the buildings mentioned in *Historia Augusta* were intended for the use of soldiers and not civilians. He concludes that the army was involved in a professional advisory capacity, as indicated in inscriptions from northern Syria (Aini), which record that personnel from the Third Legion Galica were involved in the building of a *cochlea* (an Archimedean screw used to raise water from the nearby Euphrates River). The work was financed by public funding, suggesting that the army provided professional advice (Pollard 2000:244, note 15).

101 MacMullen 1963:33, note 40.

102 Tsafrir 1975:301, "There is no reason to underestimate the enormous contribution that the 3,000 soldiers who were permanently stationed in Jerusalem made to the establishment of their own permanent camp and to the construction of the civilian colony".

The influence of the soldiers on the character and life of a Roman colony has been discussed by MacMullen.[103] The new inhabitants, most of whom were veterans who had been discharged from army service, settled in the city, ran its institutions, and graced the city with monuments built at their own expense. According to MacMullen, the soldiers played a central role in the life and defense of the city. The influence of the involvement of the army and military professionals on the urban layout has also been examined at sites elsewhere in the Roman Empire, as at Trajan's Forum in Rome, Cologne's Praetorium, and the Palace of Diocletian in Spalatum (Split), where MacMullen's conclusions are similar.[104] It can be assumed that in Aelia Capitolina too, the army played an important role in the building of the city.

Stamp Impressions of the Legio X Fretensis on Roof Tiles, Bricks and Ceramic Pipes

Residential and public buildings from the time of Aelia Capitolina throughout the Old City of Jerusalem and its immediate vicinity have yielded building materials bearing the stamp of the Tenth Legion Fretensis. As far as is known, these materials were produced in the Tenth Legion's workshop whose remains were discovered at Binyanei Ha-Umma (see below [chapter 7]). No such tiles, bricks, or pipes have been discovered in Jerusalem in archaeological strata dating from the Second Temple period and there is a general agreement among the scholars that they only began to be used in Jerusalem after the year 70 CE. The date when legionary stamps began to appear on building materials is uncertain. Most scholars agree with D. Barag's proposed chronological distinction between the various types of stamps.[105] He suggests that round stamps, which are relatively fewer in number and contain an abbreviation for the Tenth Legion Fretensis and its symbols of the wild boar and the war galley were used between 70–135 CE.[106] In contrast, the more frequently found stamps containing various abbreviations of the legion's name within a rectangular or square frame are characteristic of the period after 135 CE and up until the end of the third century.

---

103 McMullen 1963:158–159.

104 Macmullen 1959:221–222; 1963:41–43.

105 Barag 1967:263–266.

106 See Fig. 11 above, Barag proposes dating the round stamps by comparing them with countermarks on coins of the Tenth Legion Fretensis, which also bear the legion's name and its symbols—the wild boar and the war galley (*galera*). He dates the countermarks to between 70–100 CE. Since several versions of the round stamps are known, attesting to the use of several stamps, Barag estimates their date at between 70 and 130 CE (Barag 1967:264).

At a number of recently excavated sites where archaeological strata from the late first–early second centuries CE between approximately 70 and 130 CE have been identified (the Roman dump below the Eastern Cardo in the Western Wall Plaza [above], the site at Shʿufat [see below, chapter 7] and the pottery kilns at the Crowne Plaza Hotel, part of the Binyanei Ha-Umma workshop, chapter 7, below), absolutely no legionary stamps have been found on tiles or bricks, despite a large quantity of unstamped examples sealed in precisely the same strata. The absence of stamped materials may be accidental. If it is not, one must cautiously propose that the custom of stamping the name of the legion on building materials in Jerusalem began several decades after the year 70 CE, not before the beginning of the second century and perhaps only around the time of the founding of the colony in 130 CE or slightly earlier. It is possible that the stamping of bricks in Jerusalem was influenced by a custom that was prevalent throughout the Roman Empire from the beginning of the second century CE.[107]

107 Manufacturers began to stamp their name on bricks and rooftiles in Rome (in private workshops) in the first century BCE. Over the years additional details were added to the name and from the year 110 CE the names of the consuls serving at the time also began to appear. Under Hadrian's rule, in 123 CE, the phenomenon reached its peak and 240 different impressions are known from that year alone in Rome (Anderson 1991; 1997:156–159). In addition to the private workshops, tiles and bricks were produced in military potteries throughout the Roman Empire, where they were stamped with the names of the legions. In Britain, the oldest legionary stamp known on tiles dates to 43 CE although a bathhouse of the Second Legion in Exeter (dated 60–65 CE) yielded many bricks and tiles without stamps. According to Brodribb, the custom was only commonly adopted by legions from the mid-second century and by auxiliary forces from the third century onward (Brodribb 1987:118; McWhirr 1979; Hassal 1979). In Israel, apart from tiles stamped with the name of the Tenth Legion Fretensis that were produced in Jerusalem, stamps of the Sixth Legion Ferrata have been found on tiles and bricks near the legionary camp at Legio (Schumacher 1908 175; Tepper 2007), at the workshop at Kefar Hananya (Adan-Bayewitz 2008:1910), and at Horvat Hazon (Bahat 1974:162–163) where they are dated to the second century. Six stamps of the Fourth Legion Scythica were discovered in Syria and another stamp, *legionis*, was found near Belkis at a site identified by Wagner as a camp of the Fourth Legion Scythica from the late second–third century CE (Wagner 1976:136–143, no. 5, tiles 1–7; Pollard 2000:258–259). Bricks with the same Fourth Legion's stamp were used in a bridge built over the Karasu River for the road from Zeugma to Samosata. In Wagner's opinion, the bridge was built by the Fourth Legion in the Severan period (Wagner 1977:529; Pollard 2000 246). At Samasota, tiles were found stamped with the name of the Sixteenth Legion Flavia Firma, which was probably stationed in the city in the second century CE (Pollard 2000 266, note 61). Tiles and bricks with stamps of military units are not a phenomenon reserved to the Roman East. They are highly familiar and have been extensively studied in the Roman West as well. See for example Darvill and McWhirr 1984; Giacomini 2005 and more, but this subject is broader and more comprehensive than can be discussed in this chapter.

Stamped bricks recovered from the bathhouse at Ramat Raḥel with the impressions facing downward show that the name was not supposed to be visible in the completed building.[108] It is reasonable to assume that the impressions were not intended to publish the legion's name but had economic significance and were perhaps ordered for the purpose of supervision and control. According to another explanation, the stamping of the name of the Tenth Legion on tiles and bricks is related to the workshop's military identity and the desire to distinguish it from other production workshops. The existence of private workshops in Aelia Capitolina, who also used to stamp their products, is shown by a tile discovered in the bakery near Robinson's Arch stamped with the name 'Julius' in Greek letters.[109]

Structures containing building materials with the stamp of the Tenth Legion are often regarded as being connected to the Roman army.[110] Another view, which I consider more likely, is that the widespread distribution of such construction materials shows that they were sold to all customers in the city's markets—soldiers and civilians alike.[111] Tiles marked with the Tenth Legion's stamp do not therefore necessarily indicate that the buildings from which they come are of a military nature, but rather that they were built at the time of Aelia Capitolina, in the second–fourth centuries CE.[112]

One unresolved matter is the question of when the Binyanei Ha-Umma pottery workshop stopped functioning and who the subsequent suppliers of building materials were. Finds from the excavations at Binyanei Ha-Umma and the Crowne Plaza workshops indicate that the workshop was active until 200 CE at the latest.[113] However, roof tiles stamped with the Tenth Legion's insignia

108 Aharoni 1962:4, 26, Figs. 5, 19.

109 Di Segni 2011(b). The remains of a private pottery workshop from the Late Roman or Early Byzantine periods (fourth–early fifth century CE) were discovered on the north bank of Nahal Refa'im above the remains of the Roman villa (Weksler-Bdolah 2016).

110 Aharoni, regarding the bathhouse at Ramat Raḥel (Aharoni 1962:26); Geva regarded them as indicating the aid of engineering detachments in the provision of building materials and construction of public structures in Aelia Capitolina (Geva 1984:252). Regarding the legionary stamps found in the Jewish Quarter (Geva 2003:405): "Stamped roof tiles constitute the most important physical evidence for the presence of the Tenth Roman Legion in Jerusalem during the Late Roman Period (second and third centuries CE)." A similar concept, namely that tiles and stamped bricks were used by military installations and not by the civilian population, was also proposed in the past for the western part of the empire (Petrikovits 1958).

111 Tsafrir 1999a:127–128; Macmullen 1963:7, note 20; 29, note 24.

112 Much has been written about this topic in the Roman West as well and there is no scholarly consensus on the matter.

113 Magness 2005:104; Geva 2003:411.

discovered in the ruins of a building from the early fourth century (in the Givʿati Parking Lot, below) indicate that it was still possible to obtain such tiles in Jerusalem at that date. One may therefore suggest that these tiles came from another, as yet undiscovered source, either inside the large workshop at Binyanei Ha-Umma or at other workshops operating after 200 CE. Another possibility is that the tiles discovered in the fourth-century building are from stocks of building materials that remained in stores and markets when production at Binyanei Ha-Umma ceased. Alternatively, they may have been incorporated in secondary use after they were taken from earlier buildings that were demolished. In any case, it is obvious that tiles with legionary stamps were used in Jerusalem until the fourth century.

CHAPTER 3

Aelia Capitolina

The Foundation of the Colony

In around 130 CE, the Roman emperor Hadrian founded a new city in place of Herodian Jerusalem next to the military camp. He honored the city with the status of a colony and named it Aelia Capitolina. Aelia came from Hadrian's *nomen gentile* (clan, or extended family name), Aelius, while Capitolina meant that the new city was dedicated to the Capitoline Triad: Jupiter, Juno and Minerva.

There is no agreement regarding the precise date of the establishment of the Roman city. Cassius Dio (LXIX, 12:1) recognized the outbreak of the Bar Kokhba Revolt (132 CE) as being a result of Jewish opposition to the decision of Hadrian to build a Roman city on the ruins of Jerusalem and a Temple to Jupiter instead of the Herodian Temple, while Eusebius (Eus. *HE* IV: 6) suggested a reverse course of action, namely that the Jewish people first revolted and that Aelia Capitolina was founded after the revolt's suppression (135/136 CE), possibly as a result of the rebellion. The Mishnah (*Ta'anit* 4, 6) also lists the foundation of Aelia Capitolina, symbolized by the plowing of the *pomerium*, as later than the Bar Kokhba Revolt and the fall of Betar.[1]

While these sources suggest a 'cause and effect' relationship between the foundation of the Roman colony and the Bar Kokhba Revolt, two other sources—Epiphanius of Salamis (in the fourth century) and the *Chronicon Paschale* in the seventh century—specify an earlier date for the foundation of Aelia Capitolina (117/118 CE or 119/120 CE, respectively), disconnecting it from the Bar Kokhba War.[2]

Most scholars disagree with the early dates provided by Epiphanius and the *Chronicon Paschale*.[3] An exception is Leah Di Segni, who suggests that

1 The Bar Kokhba Revolt has been discussed by several scholars; see Bowersock 1980; Eck 1999, 2003; Goodman 2003; Isaac and Openheimer 1998; Schäfer 1990, 2003, *inter alia*. The connection between the foundation of Aelia Capitolina and the Bar Kokhba Revolt was also discussed in detail by Di Segni 2014; Eliav 2003; Eshel 2000, 2007; Eshel and Zissu 2002; Gray 1923; Isaac 1998a; Kindler 2002; Tsafrir 2003; Weksler-Bdolah 2014b, *inter alia*. Below, I suggest a reconsideration of the events that relies on archaeological finds that have been revealed or published since 2000.

2 Epiph. *De mens*, 14; *Chron. Pasch.*: 613; Stern 1980:395.

3 Schürer 1973; Stern 1980:395; Isaac 2010:16, note 72; Baker 2012.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2020 | DOI:10.1163/9789004417076_004

FIGURE 22 A coin of Hadrian as founder, wearing a toga and ploughing with a bull and a cow. In background, vexillum; above to right COLAELKAPIT (Colonia Aelia Capitolina), in exergue COND
AFTER MESHORER 1989:70–71, CAT. NO. 2; PHOTO: ELIE POSNER, COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL MUSEUM, JERUSALEM

Hadrian's decision to rebuild Jerusalem may have followed the Diaspora Revolt and taken place in as early as 117 CE.[4] It is not inconceivable, in Di Segni's view, that Hadrian decided to found the city anew without physically visiting it. In other unrelated studies, Gray and later Capponi reached the conclusion that Hadrian did indeed visit Palestine in 117 CE, immediately after the suppression of the Diaspora Revolt.[5]

The archaeological perspective on the connection between the foundation of Aelia Capitolina and the Bar Kokhba Revolt has been discussed in the past, mainly in relation to the numismatic evidence. Aelia Capitolina started issuing coins during Hadrian's lifetime. Out of nine types that are known, two are firmly dated to the years 137 CE, and 138 CE. The chronology of the remaining coins is elusive.[6] One of the undated coins commemorates the foundation ceremony of the colony (Fig. 22). The obverse side of the coin depicts the bust of Hadrian and the inscription IMP CAES TRAI HADRIANO AVG PP, while the reverse side depicts Hadrian, or a priest wearing the sacerdotal dress, identified as the founder of the city, ploughing with a bull and a cow to mark out the boundaries of the new colony.[7] The majority opinion is that this coin, with its special

4 Di Segni 2014.
5 Gray 1923; Capponi 2010.
6 Stein 1990 212–221.
7 Meshorer 1989:21, Catalogue no. 2. See also Kindler 2000.

emphasis on the subject of foundation (*condita*), must have been the opening emission of the colony.[8] As the acceptance by Hadrian of the title Pater Patriae (PP), which appears on the obverse of the coin, only took place early in 128 CE,[9] it appears that the foundation of the colony could not have been earlier.

The coins of the Bar Kokhba Revolt were usually struck on contemporary coins that were in regular circulation at the time. To this day, no countermarks of Bar Kokhba have yet been discovered on Aelia Capitolina's coins—a find that naturally would have solved the chronological difficulty.[10] It is not possible to determine whether this deficiency is coincidental, or whether it derives from the fact that Aelia Capitolina was not founded until after the revolt.

A hoard of Roman coins from an illicit excavation in the Hebron Hills containing a coin of Aelia Capitolina together with coins of the Bar Kokhba Revolt was discussed in the past by Meshorer.[11] In his opinion, it proves that Aelia Capitolina was established prior to the outbreak of the Bar Kokhba Revolt, probably during Hadrian's visit to Judaea in 129/130 CE.[12] A. Stein rejected Meshorer's conclusions on the basis of a study of the coin finds,[13] but many scholars have accepted Meshorer's conclusions, although due to the circumstances of the discovery they have refrained from using this as evidence for the chronological order of the events.[14] More reliable numismatic finds were reported from an archaeological survey in el-Jai cave in the Judean desert.[15] The cave served as a place of refuge during the Bar Kokhba Revolt. Two Hadrianic coins from the mint of Aelia Capitolina that were found in the cave together with four Bar Kokhba coins dating from the third and fourth years of the revolt (133/134 CE–134/135 CE) allowed the surveyors to suggest that Aelia Capitolina may only have begun minting coins during the Bar Kokhba War and not before 133/134 CE. Their conclusion was challenged by Tsafrir, who rightly noted that the discussed coins in el-Jai cave were found in several locations throughout the cave and should not be treated as a cache deposited in a single phase. It was not possible therefore, in Tsafrir's view, to rely conclusively on these finds.[16] Indeed, an

8 Stein 1990:213.
9 Mattingly 1936: cxiv; Bar Nathan and Bijovsky 2018:146, note 13.
10 Stein 2000:217–220; Tsafrir 2003, *inter alia*.
11 Meshorer 1970:67–69, *inter alia*.
12 Meshorer repeated this conclusion in later publications, where the date of Hadrian's visit and the foundation of the colony is marked 130/131 CE (Meshorer 1989 20) or assigned to 130 CE (Meshorer 1999:183).
13 Stein 1990: 218–220.
14 Tsafrir 2003:34.
15 Eshel and Zissu 2002, *inter alia*.
16 Tsafrir 2003:35–36.

Elagabalus coin (218–222 CE) from the mint of Aelia Capitolina was also found in el-Jai cave,[17] indicating that people entered the cave after the Bar Kokhba Revolt as well.

A very important recently published find is a Hadrianic coin from the mint of Aelia Capitolina that commemorates the foundation ceremony of the colony. The coin was found *in situ* in an archaeological excavation at the site of Shuʿfat, a Jewish settlement near Jerusalem that was systematically abandoned toward c. 130 CE and certainly before the outbreak of the Bar Kokhba Revolt.[18] The coin itself bears no date, but based on the stratigraphy of the site its date can be estimated. It was discovered on the upper floor of Room 11 in Insula 9, a building that was apparently abandoned before the Bar Kokhba Revolt. Based on the inscription on its obverse, Bar-Nathan and Bijovsky noted that it could not have been struck before early in 128 CE—the date when Hadrian accepted the title of *Pater Patriae*.[19] In their opinion, the foundation coin was minted at some time between 128 and 130 CE and anyway, before 132 CE when the Bar Kokhba Revolt began.[20] The find supports the accepted view, which connects the foundation of Aelia Capitolina with the imperial visit of Hadrian in 129/30 CE.

Another important contribution to the chronology of the foundation of Aelia Capitolina comes from archaeological excavations along the Eastern Cardo in the Western Wall Plaza (below). There, it was found that the Cardo was paved in the early Hadrianic reign.[21] As this street constituted a main traffic artery and its paving was connected to early infrastructure work on the urban construction, it helps date the foundation of the Roman city to about a decade earlier than the well-known visit of Hadrian to Judaea in 129/130 CE and well before the Bar Kokhba war.

The name of the new Roman city, Aelia Capitolina, was supposedly determined on the occasion of the colony's foundation as implied by the abbreviated form of the name, *COL AEL CAP* that appears on the foundation coin of Aelia Capitolina minted by Hadrian. However, the historic name of Jerusalem was not forgotten and Roman historians of the second and third centuries identified the city by both names. Thus Ptolemy (Claudius Ptolemaeus) in his

---

17 Eshel and Zissu 1999:93; Eshel and Zissu 2002, *inter alia*.

18 Another coin of Hadrian, from Alexandria, dated to 129/130 CE is the latest well-contextualized coin from the site, providing a *terminus post quem* for the abandonment of the settlement as a whole (Bar Nathan and Bijovsky 2018:145–146).

19 This note is extremely important, implying that even if Hadrian visited Judaea and Jerusalem before 128 CE, the foundation of the colony only took place later than this date.

20 Bar Nathan and Bijovsky 2018:148.

21 Weksler-Bdolah 2014b, *inter alia*.

book *Geographia* (mid-second century) writes, "Hierosolyma, that is now called Aelia Capitolina" (Ptol. V:15, 5; Stern 1980:169, 5; *ONOMAS.* Pp. 163, 166), and Cassius Dio in his *Roman History* epitomized by Xiphilinus noted, "At Jerusalem he [Hadrian] founded a city ....naming it Aelia Capitolina" (Dio Cass. LXIX, 12:1; Stern 1980:392). Additional evidence of the use of the historic name, Jerusalem, in the late first century is found in an inscription from Egypt (dated 93 CE) granting privileges to Roman veterans of Egypt and recording a grant of Roman citizenship which mentions "[the veterans] who served in Jerusalem in the Legion X Fretensis."[22]

Hadrian himself, on his famous visit to the city in 129/130 CE, also identified the site as 'Jerusalem'. A copy of a letter sent by him from a certain place in Jerusalem to Hierapolis, a city in Phrygia (today known as Pamukkale, in Turkey) was engraved on a marble slab and placed in the theater of Hierapolis in the second century CE.[23] The letter is unfortunately poorly preserved and its main part has not survived. In the upper row, however, the title of Hadrian as tribune for the fourteenth time indicates that it was sent by Hadrian in 129/130 CE and the words ending the letter, in line 13, are: *ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις*, 'in Jerusalem', denoting the specific place in Jerusalem from which the letter was sent. It follows that the letter was sent by Hadrian from a certain place located in Jerusalem during his well-known visit to the city in 129/130 CE.

According to Ritti, the letter can reasonably be assumed to have been sent from the military camp in Jerusalem as the Roman colony did not yet exist. In my opinion however, there can be more than one possibility regarding the place from where the letter was sent. 'Jerusalem' meant the whole area of the previous Herodian city. Moreover, as the last words of the letter '*en Hierosolymois*' constitute about one quarter of the entire line, it may have been preceded by more than one word, and the letter could have been sent "from the new city that I am building in Jerusalem," or even perhaps "from Aelia Capitolina (that is being built) in Jerusalem."[24]

22 Isaac 2010:13, "[*veterani*] *qui militaverunt Hierosolymnis in leg. X Fretense.*"

23 *SEG* 55, 1416; *AE* 2004 [1424]; Ritti 2004; Jones 2006:651.

24 Regarding the different preposition that appears before the name of the city, ἐν (*en*) in Hadrian's letter and ἐς (*es*) in Cassius Dio's, I thank Leah Di Segni for the following explanation: The preposition that was used in the inscription (Hadrian's letter): ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, 'in Jerusalem' (ἐν indicating status) is correct in classical Greek; Cassius Dio, or rather Xiphilinus, wrote: ἐς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα. The preposition ἐς or εἰς in classical Greek means 'in' or 'to' and indicated motion, but in the Late Roman period and even more in the Byzantine period it was interchangeable with ἐν ('in') indicating status; ἐν was used where εἰς should correctly have been used and viceversa. In this case, ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις of the inscription (Hadrian's letter) would correspond exactly to Cassius Dio's (that is, Xiphilinus's) ἐς

The reference to Jerusalem in Hadrian's letter proves that the site was still known as Jerusalem although it does not help determine whether the city of Aelia Capitolina had been founded at this stage or not. Thus, while the archaeological finds in the excavations of the Eastern Cardo described above indicate that the Roman urban construction was already significant in around 129/130 CE, it follows that the site was still known at the time by the historic name of Jerusalem. This is certainly true of Hadrian's audience in Phrygia who would not have heard of Aelia Capitolina, even if those in Jerusalem and the vicinity were already aware of the fact that the newly founded city had a different name when the letter was written.

Another find relevant to the chronology of Aelia Capitolina is that of two fragments of a monumental inscription in honor of Hadrian discovered approximately 400 m north of Damascus Gate. One fragment (1×1 m; 0.3 m thick) was found by Clermont-Ganneau in the early twentieth century[25] and a second fragment (1.09×1.45 m, 0.3 m thick) was discovered recently in an archaeological excavation conducted by the Israel Antiquities Authority (Fig. 23).[26] The inscription was dedicated to Hadrian by the Tenth Legion and was set, supposedly, on a monumental arch or column along the road leading to Jerusalem from the north.[27] Hadrian's title as a tribune for the fourteenth time provides a precise date for the inscription to between 10 December 129 and 9 December 130 CE indicating, in all probability, that the emperor did indeed visit the city in that year.

τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα (Di Segni, pers. com.). Hadrian, therefore, used correct classical Greek and Xiphilinus used the late mutation.

25 Clermont-Ganneau 1903:487, No. 10; *CIIP* 1.2, 715.

26 Avner et al. 2014; Ecker and Cotton 2019. The combined inscription was displayed in an exhibition at the Israel Museum, in December 2015. It was deciphered and reconstructed by A. Ecker and H.M. Cotton (see Ecker and Cotton 2019).

27 Clermont-Ganneau suggested that the remains belonged to a monumental arch. Vincent and Abel surmised that the northern arch was set along the *pomerium* of Aelia Capitolina, while the Damascus Gate was the main gateway of the city (Vincent and Abel 1914–1926: 36). The arch, if it existed, might be compared with the Triumphal Arch built in Gerasa in 130 CE, in honor of Emperor Hadrian who visited the city then. It was built there c. 300 m south of the southern city gate, along the road leading to the city (Detweiler 1938:73–83). Watzinger (1935:86) suggested the inscription was incorporated in a building and not in an arch and Blomme considered that the inscription was incorporated in the base of a monumental column (*CIIP* 1.2, 715). Jody Magness suggested that the northern arch was the main gateway to the city (Magness 2000:333). Avner et al. 2014 100 support the suggestion that the inscription was set in an arch, while Ecker and Cotton (2019:60–61) suggested that the inscription possibly adorned a legionary monument that was erected in the legionary *campus* (parade and training ground of the legion). The *campus*, in their opinion, extended between the Damascus Gate area and the line of the Third Wall.

FIGURE 23 Reconstruction of the monumental inscription in honor of Hadrian
PHOTO: ELIE POSNER; COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL MUSEUM, JERUSALEM

The monumental inscription in honor of Hadrian was dedicated solely by the Tenth Legion without mentioning Aelia Capitolina. The colony was either not mentioned because it had not yet been founded or because it did not participate in the construction of the specific monument. Whatever the explanation, the dedication of the monument by the Tenth Legion alone emphasizes the legion's importance among the elements occupying Jerusalem at the time. As the construction works of the new city are assumed to have begun before 129/130 CE, it is quite possible that Hadrian actually arrived in Jerusalem on that date to declare the establishment of the city.[28]

It is generally assumed that Aelia Capitolina was founded during one of the emperor's visits to Judaea. Most researchers attribute the founding of the city to Hadrian's visit to Jerusalem on his way to Egypt, in 129/130 CE.[29] The archaeological finds have now supplied evidence that corroborates this visit. However, Hadrian possibly visited Judaea in 117 CE[30] and several times after 129/130 CE, when he returned from Egypt to Judaea on his way to Syria, apparently in 131 CE and certainly before 132 CE,[31] and at the end of the Bar Kokhba War. From a letter discussing war machines sent by Apollodorus of Damascus to Hadrian and other testimonies, it seems that Hadrian stayed with the army in Judaea

28 Similar to Di Segni's suggestion: "the laying down of the city plan and the preparation of the infrastructures must certainly have taken considerable time … When the emperor arrived in 130, one can suppose that there was something to show him so that he could cut the ribbon and inaugurate the new city, giving it his own name" (Di Segni 2014:448–449).

29 Isaac 2008c, 2010 and references there.

30 Gray 1923; Capponi 2010.

31 Stern 1980: *Cassius Dio*, p. 401.

during the siege of Betar.[32] The foundation of Aelia Capitolina could theoretically have occurred during any one of these visits, after 128 CE. However, since the archaeological evidence suggests that Aelia Capitolina was founded before the outbreak of the Bar Kokhba Revolt, its foundation must have taken place between 128 and 132 CE. In my opinion, it seems likely that Hadrian decided to restore the ruins of Jerusalem early on in his reign and the construction works began long before the official establishment of Aelia Capitolina. The Jews were apparently desperate and frustrated by the final destruction of the ruins of the Herodian temple and even more so by the construction of a temple to Jupiter instead. The outbreak of the Bar Kokhba Revolt is presumably directly linked to these events.

Lastly, the findings of excavations along the route of the Eastern Cardo indicate that the preparatory works for the street's paving were executed with typical Roman precision. The total leveling of the heterogeneous surface and the subsequent construction of a sophisticated drainage system along the route of the street were completed in an orderly manner, but something slowed the works down and the paving work on the road was not completed. The columns of the porticoes were left in their 'quarried state' without being smoothed and the porticoes' surfaces were not paved. Could it be that the reason for the slowdown in construction was, indeed, the outbreak of the Bar Kokhba Revolt?

Another issue related to the founding of the city arises from the historical sources and their examination in light of the archaeological finds.

It appears that Roman historians believed that the city of Jerusalem had been destroyed prior to its reconstruction by Hadrian. Josephus attributed the destruction of the former city to Titus (*Jos. BJ* 7, 1)[33] while Appian of Alexandria mentioned Hadrian as its destroyer, '… and Hadrian did the same in our time …' (Appian *Syr.* 50:252; Stern 1980:179–181, no. 343).[34] Pausanias wrote '… in the city of Jerusalem which the Roman emperor razed to the ground …' (Paus. VIII, 16:5, Stern 1980:196) and Cassius Dio's text states (Dio Cass. LXIX, 12:1–2; Stern 1980:392), 'At Jerusalem he [Hadrian] founded a city in place of the one

32 Stern 1980: *Apollodorus of Damascus*, pp. 134–135; Cassius Dio, *Roman History* LXIX, 14: 3, p. 405.

33 'Caesar ordered the whole city and the temple to be razed to the ground, leaving only the loftiest of the towers, Phasael, Hippicus, and Mariamme, and the portion of the wall enclosing the city on the west. … All the rest of the wall encompassing the city was so completely leveled to the ground as to leave future visitors to the spot no ground for believing that it had ever been inhabited …'

34 '… and Hadrian did the same in our time …'

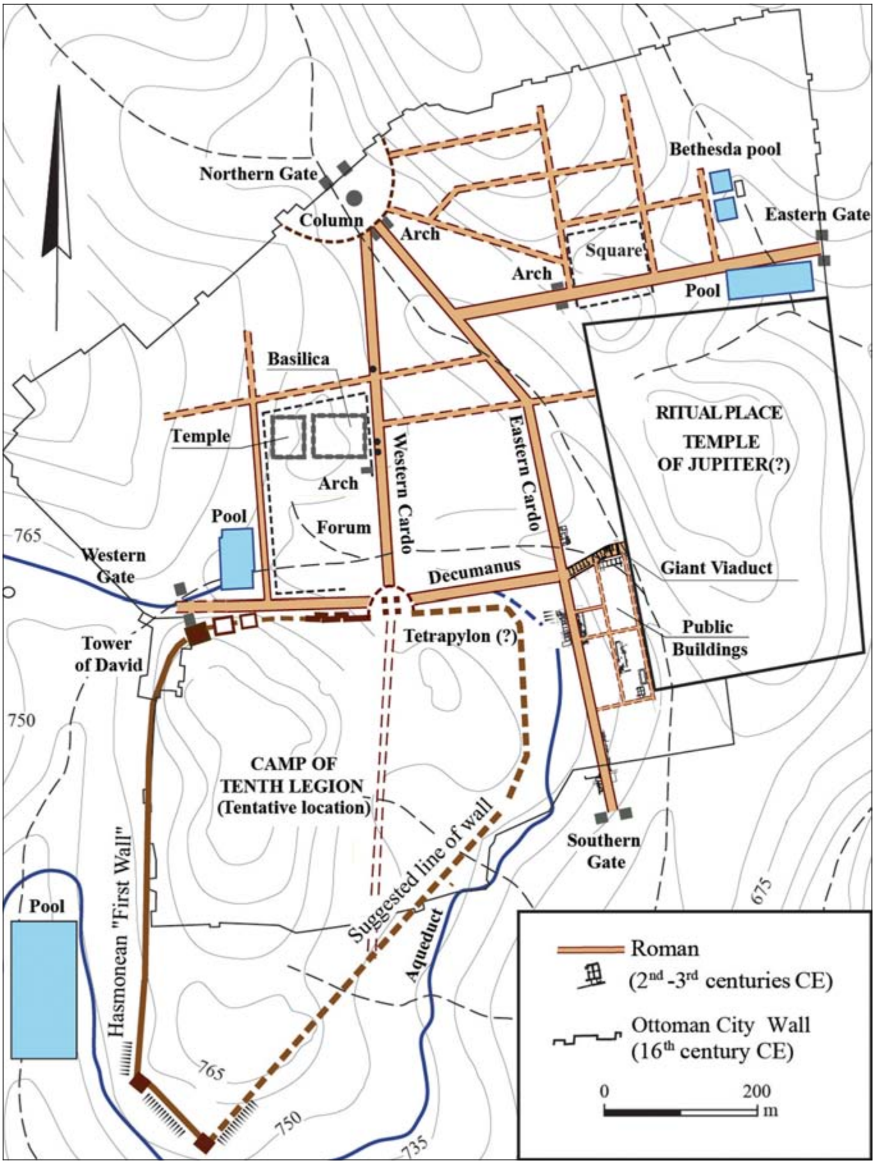

FIGURE 24 Aelia Capitolina and the camp of the Tenth Legion (tentative location), second–third centuries CE, according to Weksler-Bdolah
DRAWING: NATALYA ZAK; COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

which had been razed to the ground …'. The accepted view holds Vespasian and Titus responsible for annihilating the city of Jerusalem and portrays Hadrian as the founder of the new city, not the destroyer of the former.

The archaeological remains recently exposed in excavations of the Eastern Cardo provide a better understanding of the course of events that took place in Jerusalem during the foundation of Aelia Capitolina. They demonstrate the enforcement of the Roman orthogonal 'grid' layout upon the local topography while destroying almost everything that was left of the Jewish city. Those living in the vicinity of Jerusalem, pagans and Jews alike, must have regarded the reshaping of the urban topography as the final destruction of whatever was left of the Herodian city, only leaving untouched the huge *temenos* of the Temple Mount that was too vast to be ruined and the towers of the former Herod's palace that were now integrated in the camp's defenses. The remains of the Jewish Temple that were still standing were also presumably removed at that time. The construction of the Roman city would certainly have aroused great anger and despair among the Jews who lived near the city and may well have increased motivation for the Bar Kokhba Revolt of 132 CE.

The Urban Layout: The City Gates

At the time of the founding of Aelia Capitolina, the boundaries were marked by free-standing gates facing the four cardinal directions (north, south, east and west). At this point the city did not have a surrounding wall.

The only one of the city gates recognized today is the northern gate, remains of which were unearthed beneath the Ottoman Damascus Gate. Convention places the other gates in the region of Lions Gate in the east, Jaffa Gate in the west, and Dung Gate in the southeast. The gates were linked by the Cardo and the Decumanus—the main streets across the length and breadth of the city.

The Northern City Gate, whose remains were discovered beneath the Ottoman Damascus Gate, consists of a large 'triumphal arch' structure with guard towers on both sides (Figs. 25A, 25B, 26).[35]

35 Parts of the gate were first uncovered by Hamilton in the 1930s (Hamilton 1944, Soundings A, D, E) and later by Hennessy and Bennett on behalf of the expedition led by Kenyon (Hennessy 1970). The final report from this excavation was published by Wightman (Wightman 1989, 1993:161–194). The eastern tower, part of the western tower, and parts of the square inside the gate were excavated by Menachem Magen (Magen 1994); the

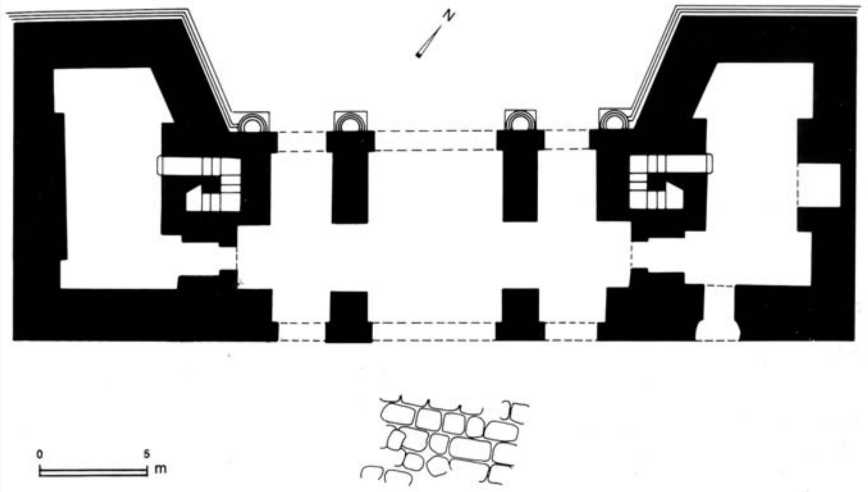

FIGURE 25A The Northern City Gate during the Roman period: Damascus Gate, plan of Hadrian's Gate complex
AFTER MAGEN 1994:283, COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL EXPLORATION SOCIETY

Archaeological excavations exposed the eastern of the three entrances to the gate, the towers on each side of it and part of the plaza inside the gate. The total length of the structure from east to west is c. 42 m and it is c. 10 m wide. Reconstructions estimate that it originally reached a height of about 20 m. The east entrance is 2.36 m wide and 4.85 high and the west entrance would have had similar dimensions. The main opening, whose upper part was incorporated into the Ottoman gate entrance, was 5.48 m wide and it is estimated to have been 10 m high. Arches spanned the openings and columns on bases were embedded in the side walls. The upper section of the gate structure, above the openings, was probably crowned by an *attica* and cornices, which are customary architectural features of Roman gates and triumphal arches. Guard towers were built on the gate's east and west sides. The internal dimensions of the fully exposed east tower are 6 × 11 m. The entrance to the towers was from the interior of the gatehouse and an internal staircase provides access to their top level. The west tower was only partially preserved but was similar in form. The parts of the towers protruding from the line of the wall are cut diagonally on the corners facing the center of the gate and are pentagonal. The gate is similar in structure to

---

structure of the gate, its dating and its nature were also discussed by Geva 1992:683–684, Wightman 1989:35–43, Magness 1993:37–43, Mazor 2017:79–80. The following description of the structure of the gate is based on Tsafrir 1999a:137–138.

FIGURE 25B The Northern City Gate during the Roman period: Damascus Gate, the eastern Roman Gateway and the Ottoman gateway above it
AFTER MAGEN 1994:281, COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL EXPLORATION SOCIETY

the Arch of Hadrian at Gerasa (Jerash), built to honor Hadrian's visit on the road leading into the city from the south.[36] On the outer side of the gate's east tower, a second-century CE tamped-earth layer that was the floor of the gate was excavated.[37] Similar gates with pentagonal towers are found in North Africa, where they date from the latter half of the second–third centuries CE.[38] Most scholars agree that the Roman gate was built under Hadrian's rule, at the time of the founding of Aelia Capitolina or slightly later. This theory is supported by a second-century Latin inscription engraved above the eastern entrance

36 Kraeling 1938: Plan IV.
37 Wightman 1989:6–7, 19, Pl. 2:1–5.
38 See the fortress of Bu Ngem in Tripolitania, from the early third century, or the fortress of Gheria el-Garbia from the second or third centuries CE (Goodchild 1954:59, Figure 1). See also Johnson 1983:24–30; Lander 1984; Wightman 1989:42–43.

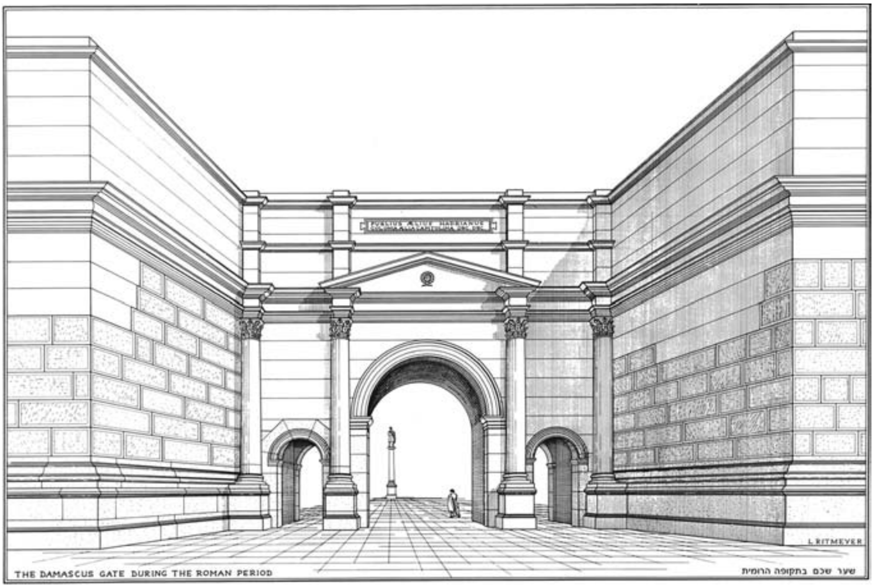

FIGURE 26 Northern city gate, reconstruction of the north façade
AFTER BAHAT 2000:56–57, DRAWING: LEEN RITMEYER, COURTESY OF LEEN RITMEYER

arch. The inscription: "… *the colonia Aelia Capitolina* (*built this*) *by decree of the city councilors*" was dated by Avi-Yonah to the first half of the second century CE, c. 135–150 CE.[39]

The Western City Gate. In the Byzantine period, the western gate was known as David's Gate (*porta David*) or Tower Gate (*porta Purga*).[40] As Tsafrir has suggested, the evidence points to the gate's location in the area of the present Jaffa Gate, but a few dozen meters to its east, on the ridge between the Hinnom Valley in the west and the Transversal Valley in the east.[41] An account of the year 136 CE in Eusebius's *Chronicon*, translated by Jerome, hints at the proximity of the western gate to the Tenth Legion's camp: "Aelia [was] founded by Aelius Hadrianus; on the front of that gate, by which we go out to Bethlehem, a sow was sculpted in marble, denoting that the Jews were subject to the

39 Hamilton 1944 23, note 1. Eck suggested a date before Commodus, i.e. before 180–192 CE (*CIIP*, 1.2, 728). It has not been possible to determine whether or not the inscription is *in situ* (Hamilton 1944:21–24).

40 Theod. *TS*, 116: *porta Purgu*; Adamn. *LS*, 185: "*Porta Dauid ad occidentalem montis Aion partem prima numerator*."

41 Tsafrir 1999a:139.

Roman authority."[42] The positioning of the statue of a pig over the city gate was intended, accordingly, to harm the Jews, but since the boar was the symbol of the Tenth Legion Fretensis it is reasonable to assume that the statue was connected to the nearby army camp.[43]

The Southern City Gate. The southern gate of Aelia Capitolina can be reconstructed at the south end of the Eastern Cardo visible on the Madaba map, slightly west of the current Dung Gate. None of its remains have been found, but its existence is based on historical sources as well as on the fact that the line of the eastern colonnaded street terminates here and goes no further south toward the City of David. A fragment of an early third-century monumental inscription (202–205 CE) dedicated to the emperor Septimus Severus and his family was discovered incorporated in secondary use in the floor of one of the Umayyad palaces south of the Temple Mount (*CIIP* 1.2, 719). It may attest to the existence of a monumental structure nearby and it is not inconceivable, as has been suggested in the past, that it comes from a city gate that has not yet been discovered.[44] The presence of a city gate in this area is also implied in pilgrims' descriptions from the fourth and sixth centuries CE. The Bordeaux pilgrim (333 CE) left Jerusalem "to climb Sion" after visiting the Temple Mount. It may be suggested that he realized he was leaving the city, as there was there a gate.[45] In the sixth century, the Piacenza Pilgrim noted: "We went on from there [from the Praetorium, where the basilica of Saint Sophia stood, in the area of the Western Wall Plaza] to an arch on the site of an ancient city gate … From that arch you descend by many steps to Siloam …" (AP, Wilkinson 2002:141, no. 24). The traveler possibly saw the arch along the Eastern Cardo's route, in the area of the Ottoman Dung Gate. The existence of another city gate in the south was surmised in the past at the southern end of the Byzantine Western Cardo near the present Zion Gate, based on its identification in the Madaba map.[46] It is possible that this gate marks the military camp's south gate that may have existed at the southern end of the *via principalis*.

42 Eus. *Chron.*, 201: "*Aelia ab Aelio Hadriano condita, et in fronte eius portae, qua Bethleem potestati egredimur, sus scalptus in marmore significans Romanae potestati subiacere Iudaeos*" (trans. Isaac 2010:22).

43 Tsafrir 1999a:124–125; Isaac 2010:22.

44 Stiebel 1995.

45 "… As you leave Jerusalem to climb Sion, you see down in the valley on your left, beside the wall, the pool called Siloam" *Itinerarium Burdigalense* (*It. Burd.*, 52.; Wilkinson 1999:30).

46 Avi-Yonah 1954; Tsafrir 1999a:141.

The Eastern City Gate. The eastern gate of Aelia Capitolina is usually estimated to have been located near today's Lions Gate, c. 70 m north of the northeastern corner of the Temple Mount, at the eastern end of Via Dolorosa street, along which remains of a street from the Roman period were discovered (below). Another proposal, accepted by a minority of scholars, places it at the Ecce Homo Arch, c. 350 m west of Lions Gate.[47] No definite remains of the Roman gate structure are known and its estimated location in the area of the current Lions Gate is based on its depiction in the Madaba map and on the nearby topography. However, salvage excavations carried out in 2018 along the outer face of the eastern city wall, near Lions Gate and to its north,[48] unearthed courses of an ancient city-wall identified as a section of the Roman-Byzantine wall and possibly sections of a gate that stood there in the Late Roman period.

Streets and Plazas

Inside the city gates, the streets were laid out in accordance with the Roman grid plan in which streets run at right angles to each other to form a grid. The main streets were wider than the others. Some had colonnades and roofed porticoes on both sides. In several places, public plazas and decorative structures such as triumphal arches were placed. The orthogonal layout of the Roman city is reflected in the Madaba mosaic, as well as in the plan of the Old City to this day. The *Chronicon Paschale* (above), which records that Hadrian "divided the city into seven quarters (*amphoda*) …"[49] is entirely compatible with this orthogonal plan.

The Plaza inside Damascus Gate

Inside the city's northern gate large paving stones have been found across an area extending c. 30 m south of the gate and 6–10 m wide (Fig. 27).[50] The flag-

47 Eliav 2003, 2005: 99.

48 The excavations along the external face of the eastern city-wall, north of the Lions Gate, on behalf of the Israel Antiquities Authority (The Sheep Market, License A-8142/2018) were directed by Amit Re'em and David Yeger. I thank the excavators for the information. A final report of the finds will be published in the future.

49 *Chron. Pasch.*: *613*.

50 Magen 1994. Another section of the plaza's pavement (c. 6 × 3 m) was recently documented c. 50 m south of the Ottoman Gate in a salvage excavation conducted on behalf of the Israel Antiquities Authority in 2013. The excavation was directed by Zubair Adawi (License A-6799/2013). Seven limestone flagstones (1.1–1.8 m long, 1.1 m wide, 0.27 m thick) similar in

FIGURE 27 Damascus Gate: Section of pavement in the Roman plaza
AFTER MAGEN 1994:285, COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL EXPLORATION SOCIETY

stones are well preserved. They measure up to 2 m in length and their average width is 1.2 m. Some have deep, worn grooves across their faces, and others are smooth. A few are incised with board games. The slabs are identified as having belonged to an oval public plaza depicted inside the northern gate in the Madaba map (Figs. 2, 24, 27).

Based on the current street grid, the estimated north–south width of the plaza was c. 70–75 m and its east–west length was 140 m. A brown contour around its circumference on the Madaba map indicates that it was surrounded by a portico.[51] A massive monumental column erected in the center of the plaza was probably placed there in the Roman period in honor of one of the emperors and would have been capped by the emperor's statue, as was customary in the Roman Empire. It is generally accepted that the modern Arabic name for Damascus Gate, Bab el-ʿAmud (Gate of the Column) retains a memory of the Roman column that was still standing in the Byzantine era and has since disappeared. The two main colonnaded streets of the Roman city, the Eastern Cardo and the Western Cardo, branched southward from this plaza. At the place where the Eastern Cardo set out from the plaza, an arch shown on the Madaba map was built (whose remains have yet to be discovered).

appearance to the plaza's known paving stones were exposed. I thank the excavator for the information. A final report of the finds will be published in the future.

51 Colonnaded, oval plazas in the vicinity of city gates are known in other cities, e.g. Bostra and Gerasa (Segal 1997:70–78).

FIGURES 28, 29 Fig. 28: Flagstones of the Western Cardo, along Beit HaBad/Khan e-Zeit street, looking south; Fig. 29: Flagstones of the Western Cardo and the hewn drainage channel below it, along Khan e-Zeit street, looking north
ARCHIVES OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY, THE BRITISH MANDATE FILES, 1947. JERUSALEM, MUSLIM QUARTER A2, VOLUME 101, PHOTOGRAPH 38812 (FIG. 28) AND PHOTOGRAPH 38842 (FIG. 29); COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

The Western Cardo

Beit HaBad/Khan e-Zeit Street follows a straight line from north to south for about 400 m and then splits into three parallel alleys: The Jewelers' Market (Shuk HaTsorfim/Soûq el-Khawajat) in the east, the Spice Merchants' Market (Shuk HaBasamim/Soûq al-Attarin) in the center, and the Butchers' Market (Shuk HaKatsavim/Soûq e-Lachmin) in the west. These all continue south for another 150 m more until they reach the intersection with David Street. Beneath these streets, the Western Cardo of the Roman city extends along their entire length (c. 550 m). It led in a direct line from the plaza inside the northern city gate to the south, probably reaching the north gate of the Tenth Legion's garrison. Sections of ancient stone paving made of large limestone slabs set over a rock-hewn drainage channel were discovered in 1947 along the whole length of Beit HaBad/Khan e-Zeit Street at a depth of 1.0–1.2 m beneath the current street level (Figs. 28, 29).[52]

52 Johns 1948:94; For summary see Weksler-Bdolah 2011a:56–58, Figs. 52–58.

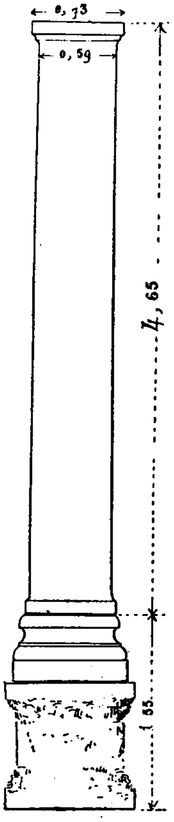

FIGURE 30
A monolithic column of the Western Cardo of Aelia Capitolina, standing on a pedestal
VINCENT AND ABEL 1914–1926:22, FIG. 4

At several points along the west side of the current street, plinths of columns and sections of ancient pillars have been discovered in the past. Inside a church marking the Seventh Station of the Cross on the Via Dolorosa (c. 300 m south of the Northern Gate, at the junction between Beit HaBad/Khan e-Zeit Street and Al-Khanka Street) is an intact column *in situ*. The monolithic column is made of limestone. It measures 0.82 m in diameter at its base and is 4.65 m high. Together with the base (0.55 m high), plinth (1.0 m high) and capital (which is missing), it would have reached a height of c. 7 m. (Fig. 30).

During the construction of the Russian Orthodox Alexander Nevsky Hostel for pilgrims (east of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre) in the latter half of the nineteenth century, two fragmentary granite columns standing on a square limestone plinth were discovered. These columns were probably incorporated in the street's western portico at the entrance to the municipal forum, on the site where the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was later built. The column bases are similar in shape to each other and to the intact column at the Seventh Station of the Cross, but they are not identical in size. Two addi-

tional, narrower columns along the same route, one to the south and the other to the north of the granite columns, are presented in a plan of the site (Fig. 31).[53] Bases of other columns were documented along the Butchers' Market, although they are no longer *in situ*, and monolithic columns (probably from the Roman colonnade) are now incorporated in shop entrances along the same route.[54] Two stone slabs that were discovered in an excavation to the east of the presumed street axis may belong to a street that ran between shops to the east of the line of the Western Cardo in the Byzantine period (mid-sixth century CE).[55] This would confirm a hypothesis proposed in the past, that the original width of the Western Cardo in the Roman period, including the porticoes, equaled the total width of the three market streets, or roughly 22.5 m.[56] Excavations conducted recently to the east of Beit HaBad/Khan e-Zeit Street, near the corner of Ma'alot HaMidrasha Street, exposed the remains of two rectangular cells (c. 3 × 5 m) with west-facing entrances. These cells lie to the east of the estimated axis of the Cardo. Their location and resemblance to shops found on the west side of the Eastern Cardo enable us to identify them as part of a row of shops on the east side of the Cardo.[57]

South of the intersection with David Street, two parallel streets now continue in a moderately southwest direction: The Jewish Quarter (HaYehudim) Street and the Chabad Street. Excavations directed by N. Avigad in the 1970s between these two streets and to the east of Chabad—Jewish Quarter/HaYehudim Streets uncovered a 180 m stretch containing paved sections of a colonnaded street that was identified as the southern section of the Western Cardo.[58] The excavation finds showed that this section was paved no earlier than Justinian's reign, in the sixth century CE (Byzantine period). O. Gutfeld, who examined the finds, suggested that a narrow fifth-century street preceding the Byzantine Cardo be reconstructed along this axis.

---

53 Vincent and Abel 1914: Pls. III, VIII.

54 Chen and Margalit (9/9/1985). Suk al-Lahhamin, Old City of Jerusalem, February 1977. In: Israel Antiquities Authority Archives, Scientific Supervision File. P/Jerusalem/E/7/X. For summary see Weksler-Bdolah 2011a:62.

55 Zelinger 2014.

56 Tsafrir 1999a:144.

57 The remains were unearthed in an excavation conducted on behalf of the Israel Antiquities Authority and directed by the author in 2017 (License No. A-7976/2017). The excavation area lies inside a building at 13 Ma'alot HaMidrasha St. near the corner with Beit HaBad/Khan e-Zeit Street.

58 Gutfeld 2012:13–100.

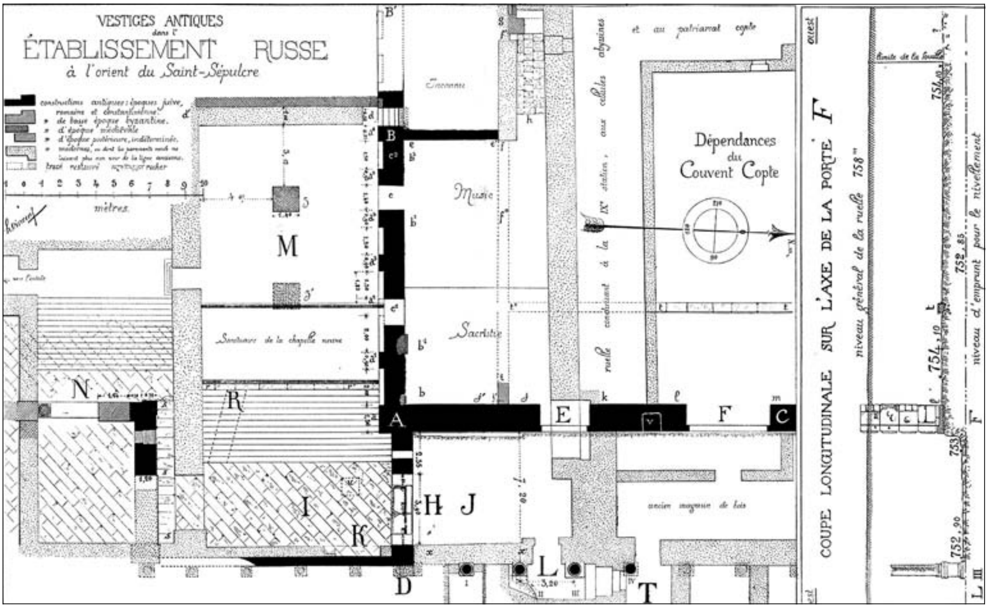

FIGURE 31 The Russian Hostel, Alexander Nevsky. Plan of remains of a paved plaza and monumental buildings
VINCENT AND ABEL 1914–1926: PL. III

In the past, scholars remarked on the slightly different alignment of the northern part of the Western Cardo (now Beit HaBad/Khan e-Zeit Street and the three markets) and the southern part (Chabad and Jewish Quarter/HaYehudim Streets). R. Reich proposed attributing this difference to a chronological gap between the northern part of the street, which was Roman, and the later southern Byzantine extension.[59] In the opinion of Y. Tsafrir, the entire length of the Western Cardo was laid at the time of Aelia Capitolina and the slight deviation in its course is due to the fact that the northern part lies on an absolute north–south axis, while the southern part was aligned with the eastern wall of the Tenth Legion's camp.[60] In the opinion of the author, the deviation indicates a join between two original Roman-period streets with different alignments. The northern street is the Roman Cardo, which ran southward from the plaza inside the northern city gate to a plaza that probably existed in front of the garrison's north gate, while the southern street is the *via principalis* (see above) that crossed the camp from southwest to northeast and led to the camp's north

59 Reich 1987:164–167.
60 Tsafrir 1999a:133–134, 145.

gate (Fig. 12).[61] Its slight deviation from the strictly orthogonal grid was probably the result of topographical adaptations.

The suggested square at the intersection of the routes (see reconstruction, Fig. 24), would have somewhat camouflaged the slight shift and lack of symmetry in the axes of the streets leading from it in the four directions.[62] If so, it presumably had a monument in its center. This monument, possibly a *tetrapylon* (as suggested in the past) or a *quadrifons*, indicated the spot where the Cardo and the Decumanus of Aelia Capitolina met the *via principalis* of the military camp, outside the camp's northern gate. In my opinion, as will be suggested below, it also served as the starting point for measurement of distances along the imperial roads which led to and from Jerusalem in the Roman period.[63]

The Municipal Forum in the City Center

During the construction works of the Alexander Nevsky Russian Orthodox Hostel in the second half of the nineteenth century, the remains of a plaza paved with flagstones with monumental structures on it were discovered (Fig. 31).[64]

The plaza measures 21 m long and 10 m wide (partial dimensions). Most researchers identify this as a municipal forum from the time of Aelia Capitolina, which is estimated to have been located northwest of the intersection between the Western Cardo (aligned along Beit HaBad/Khan e-Zeit Street) and the Decumanus (aligned along David–Silsilah Streets, below). The plaza is paved with flagstones laid on top of the bedrock, which was apparently hewn and leveled for this purpose at an elevation of 752.85–752.90 m asl. The orientation of the flagstones is diagonal in relation to the north–south orientation of the Cardo delineating it from the east. Another section of paving containing four flagstones belonging to the same plaza was exposed in an excavation north of the corner between the Butchers' Market (Soûq e-Lachmin) and the Tsaba'im Market (ḥâret ed-Dabbâghîn), near the Alexander Nevsky Hostel.[65] Vincent and Abel suggested that the monumental arch built on the

61 Wilson 1905 140; Weksler-Bdolah 2018.

62 The existence of this small square is presumed. For the time being, no archaeological excavations have been conducted at the site and there are no remains that can confirm its existence.

63 On this 'starting point', see Weksler-Bdolah 2018, and below [chapter 7].

64 See Clermont-Ganneau 1899; Vincent and Abel 1914:31, 40–88, Fig. 31; Tsafrir 1999a:151–152; Geva 1993:763; Mazor 2017:75–76.

65 Avni and Re'em 1999. Beneath one of the flagstones, potsherds dated by the excavators to the Late Roman–Early Byzantine period (second–fourth centuries) and a rooftile

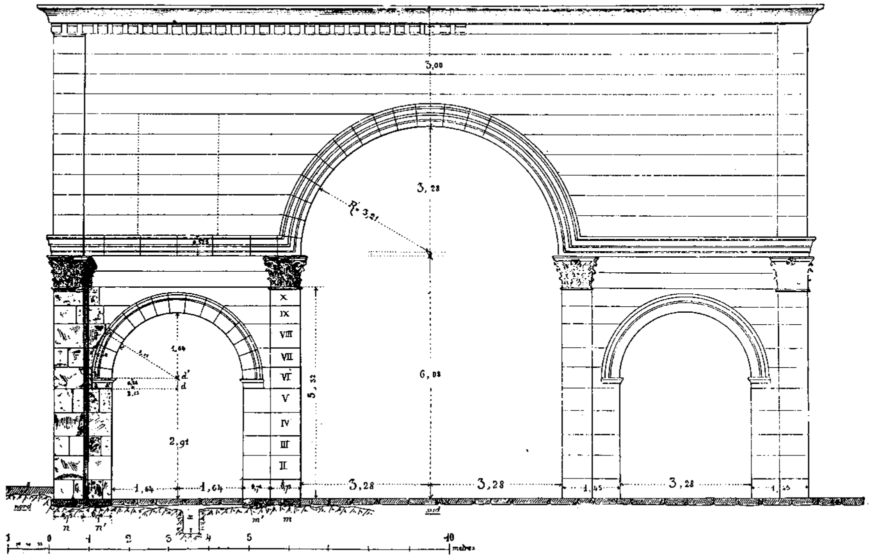

FIGURE 32 The Russian Hostel, Alexander Nevsky. The reconstructed east façade of the triple-arched propylaeum at the entrance to the forum
VINCENT AND ABEL 1914–1926:31, FIG. 13

plaza served as an entrance to the municipal forum from the direction of the Cardo (estimated dimensions: length 18.92 m, width 3.7 m, height 12.36 m; Figs. 32, 33). Only a small part of the arch has survived and it exhibits signs of renovation in later periods. Vincent and Abel proposed reconstructing the original arch as part of a rectangular structure constructed at the entrance to the forum in such a way as to project eastward into the western colonnaded street and westward into the forum. According to their proposal, the arch had a high central opening that was flanked by two lower side openings (Figs. 32, 33).

To the north of the paved plaza of the forum and west of the granite columns of the Cardo's portico (above), the southeastern corner of a monumental building has been recorded. Its stones have marginal drafts and smoothly dressed

impressed with the stamp of the Tenth Roman legion were found. The excavators suggested that the pavement was laid in the Early Byzantine period, possibly in connection with the construction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. However, as similar potsherds were recently revealed in the Eastern Cardo's excavations and dated there to the Roman period, it is more probable in my view that the pavement is part of the forum of Aelia Capitolina (Weksler-Bdolah 2011a:59).

FIGURE 33 The Russian Hostel, Alexander Nevsky. The arched propylaeum as revealed in the nineteenth century. Looking southeast
VINCENT AND ABEL 1914–1926: PL IX

bosses in the style known as Herodian (Fig. 31). Vincent and Abel (above) interpreted the structure's south wall as originally belonging to a defensive walled line from the Second Temple period that later became part of the Roman building. Many scholars have suggested that the corner was part of a sacred compound from the time of Aelia Capitolina where a temple to Venus/Roman Aphrodite was erected, possibly on a raised platform. C.O.P. Coüasnon surmised that apart from the temple, a civilian Roman basilica was built north of the plaza and that this later formed the basis for the fourth-century basilica of Constantine. This proposal is accepted by many scholars.[66]

Archaeological excavations were recently conducted in the southwest corner of the conjectured Roman forum, beneath the Church of St. John the Baptist (east of the present-day Christian Quarter Street; Fig. 24). In the archaeologists' opinion, the crypt beneath the church is a Late Roman or Byzantine building that was built on the corner of the Roman forum.[67] A wall identified

66 Coüasnon 1974:41–42.
67 Humbert 2011:26–28, 31–34, A7–A8.

as a stylobate and a deliberate fill beside its foundation may be related to the leveling of an area slated as the municipal forum when Hadrian founded Aelia Capitolina.

An Ancient Street along Christian Quarter Street (HaNotsrim, Hâret en-Naşârâ)

In 1977, paving slabs from an ancient street were discovered at two places along Christian Quarter Street, which splits off from David Street and continues north, parallel to the axis of the Western Cardo (Figs. 24, 34).[68]

The ancient street level is 0.5 m lower than that of the current street and it is over 4 m wide. The paving slabs are large and impressive (up to 1×2 m and 0.3–0.5 m thick). They are made of reddish limestone and are shiny and worn from prolonged use. Many of the stones are grooved to prevent slipping. The grooves are cut perpendicular to the street axis or parallel to it and the latter probably attest to later renovation. Beneath the paving stones, in the middle of the street, was a drainage channel that extended north beyond the excavated area where it deviated slightly to the west. The channel is covered with stone slabs that also form part of the street's paving. Two drainage channels were exposed in the street's northern section, on either side of the present-day street. The connection between the channels in the southern and northern parts of the street was not ascertained. Fragments of pottery vessels dating from the Late Roman or Early Byzantine period were discovered beneath the paving stones. Since some of the slabs were broken and others had smaller stone repairs between them, the excavators regarded them as the remnants of impressive Roman paving, which was probably repaired and re-laid in the Byzantine period.

The Eastern Cardo

Remains of the Eastern Cardo have been discovered at 20 different locations at a depth of three to four meters below HaGai/El-Wad Street. The ancient street was c. 800 m long, running from the plaza inside Damascus Gate in the north to about 60 m south of the city wall near Dung Gate in the south. At the northern end of this street, the Madaba map depicts an ornamental arch whose remains have not yet been discovered. From here, the street continues for c. 300 m southeast, roughly along the route of the Tyropoeon Valley and the current line of HaGai/El-Wad Street. There is general consensus that in this section the colonnaded street preserved the route of a Second Temple-period

68 Chen, Margalit and Solar 1979.

FIGURE 34 An ancient street along the Christian Quarter Street, during the excavation in 1977. Looking south
ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY ARCHIVE, EXCAVATION FILE 1977/686-A. COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

thoroughfare along the valley bed (although there are no known remains of it). From this point, approximately opposite the north end of the Temple Mount, HaGai/El-Wad Street changes its direction, as did the Eastern Cardo, and continues south-southeast along a straight line, dropping southward down a very gentle slope with no consideration for the natural topography. This slight alteration from a strictly north–south axis was apparently intended to align the street with the western wall of the Herodian Temple Mount, which remained a prominent architectural feature in the southeast of the city. The straight street continued south for about 500 m as it moved away from the Tyropoeon Valley and presumably led toward the southern city gate, which was located in the vicinity of the present-day Dung Gate.

A 50 m long segment of the ancient street, recently exposed to its full width beneath the Western Wall Plaza, shows that its average width was 24 m (Figs. 35–38).[69]

The 8 m wide central carriageway was paved with large slabs of the local *mizzi hilu* limestone, which were arranged diagonally to the street's axis (the slab dimensions are 1.0–1.6 m long, 0.8–1.2 m wide, and c. 0.3 m thick) and most of those found had a smooth face. A municipal drain was built beneath the street to channel the rainwater south. Narrow sidewalks, 1.5 m wide on either side, lined the street at a higher level than that of the carriageway. The sidewalks were paved with flagstones resembling those of the carriageway, although here they were placed parallel to the street's axis. The street was flanked with rows of columns, part of a 6.5 m wide portico on each side. In the section exposed in the Western Wall Plaza a row of shops bordered the street on its west side, whereas on the east side remains of a gatehouse (*propylaeum*) that probably led into a larger structure were discovered between two streets leading eastward from the Cardo.

The following is a brief description of the street sections discovered along HaGai/El-Wad Street, from north to south:

In 1978, two small paved sections were exposed near the intersection of HaGai/El-Wad Street and the Via Dolorosa, opposite the entrance to the Austrian Hospice. In each section, three parallel stones had been placed diagonally to the course of the ancient street.[70] In this part, the street is 735.51 m asl and slopes slightly from north to south. Another section of ancient paving was found a little further south, opposite the Third Station of the Cross of the Via Dolorosa and c. 2.5. m below the present street level.[71] This section is c. 15 m long from north to south and c. 4–6 m wide from east to west. The street was paved with large square slabs. Some contain parallel grooves to prevent slipping and they are well-worn from use (Fig. 39).

In 1869, a 45 m long stretch of the central drainage channel of the Eastern Cardo was documented to the south of the intersection of HaGai/El-Wad Street and the Via Dolorosa (width 0.66 m, depth 1.5 m). The channel, which was installed beneath the level of the street in the Roman period, was used continuously until the twentieth century. The bottom of the channel is hewn in the bedrock and it is on a southerly downward slope. The channel was covered with flat flagstones cut into by later drainage shafts in three different places.[72]

69 Weksler-Bdolah 2014b, 2017; Weksler-Bdolah and Onn 2017.

70 The remains were documented by Menachem Magen and investigated by Kloner and Bar-Nathan 2017:51–59, Fig. 1:3.

71 Kloner and Bar-Nathan 2017:51–59, Fig. 1 1.

72 Wilson and Warren 1871:281–284.

FIGURE 35 The Eastern Cardo and the Western Wall Plaza, looking northeast
PHOTO: S. WEKSLER-BDOLAH; COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

FIGURE 36 The Eastern Cardo and the Western Wall Plaza, looking northeast
PHOTO: S. WEKSLER-BDOLAH; COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

Further south, in a c. 100 m long section along HaGai/El-Wad Street, between the Cotton Merchants' Market (Soûq el-Qattânin) and the Street of the Chain (Sha'ar ha-Shalshelet/ ṭarîq bâb es-Silsileh), a few small-scale excavations were conducted in the 1930s during improvements to the drainage system.[73] Additional excavations were carried out in this section after 1967 and early in the twenty-first century.[74] All of the excavations found paving stones of the Eastern Cardo and sections of its underlying drainage channel as well as earlier remains that were sealed beneath the street.

Approximately 25 m south of the Cotton Merchants' Market, a 3 m wide shaft was excavated to a depth of 9 m below the level of HaGai/El-Wad Street without reaching bedrock.[75] Two ancient paved streets were exposed in this shaft, one above the other: The upper street (728.38 m asl) belongs to the Eastern Cardo and beneath it, 2.1 m lower down, earlier paving dating from the Second Tem-

73 Johns 1932; Hamilton 1932, 1933.
74 Hess O. and Eisenberg E., reported in *Hadashot Arkheologiyot* 63–64 (1977):48; Barbe and Deadle 2006:23–24; Kloner and Bar-Nathan 2017:60–62.
75 Johns 1932: Shaft I.

FIGURE 37 The Eastern Cardo and the rock cliff that delineates it from the west, looking southwest
PHOTO: S. WEKSLER-BDOLAH; COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

FIGURE 38 The Eastern Cardo, looking northwest
PHOTO: S. WEKSLER-BDOLAH; COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

ple period was revealed (Figs. 40, 41). The Roman Cardo was paved with rectangular slabs of *mizzi hilu* limestone placed diagonally to the street's axis, each measuring one square meter or more and 0.3 m thick. A well-built drainage channel, excavated to a depth of 5.5 m without reaching the bottom, was discovered beneath the paving slabs (Figs. 42, 43). The walls of the channel (0.8 m thick) are built of dressed stones arranged in courses (each course is 0.3–0.4 m high) and its inner width is about one meter. The channel is covered with a semi-circular vault built of relatively small stones. The paving slabs of the Cardo were laid directly over the roof of the drainage channel.

Approximately 20 m south of Shaft I and 5 m west of HaGai/El-Wad Street, another shaft was excavated to a depth of 7 m below street level.[76] A horizontal tunnel was dug c. 20 m to the south, from the bottom of the shaft, along which the two superimposed paved street levels were identified. The Roman Cardo was exposed at 727.85 m asl and one meter below it the lower, Second Temple-period paving was visible. The Cardo flagstones are placed on a diagonal to the

76 Hamilton 1932: Shaft II.

FIGURE 39 HaGai/El-Wad Street, looking south. The Eastern Cardo pavement incorporated into the current street level
GUTFELD 2007: FIG. 11, COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL EXPLORATION SOCIETY

street's alignment. The drainage channel with a vaulted roof was also exposed here, beneath the Cardo. A series of manholes links the paving stones to the roof of the channel, attesting to their contemporaneous use. Hamilton deduced that the channel was originally constructed in the Second Temple period and that its sides were raised when the upper street was built, when the vaulted roof was also added.

Below the Ohel Yitzhak synagogue, located c. 40 m south of the Cotton Merchants' Market, a 14 m long, 3.5 m wide section of the Cardo was exposed.[77] The street is paved with large, diagonally laid flagstones at an elevation ranging from 728.24 m asl (in the north) to 727.86 m asl (in the south). Most of the stones have smooth faces, but a few are grooved to prevent slipping. The different directions of the grooves attest to repairs on the street after it was laid, as does the fact that some of the large slabs are broken and smaller stone squares were inserted between them, some of which are grooved. The exposed street section is defined on its east side by the external wall of a later structure built

77 Barbe and Deadle 2006:23–24.

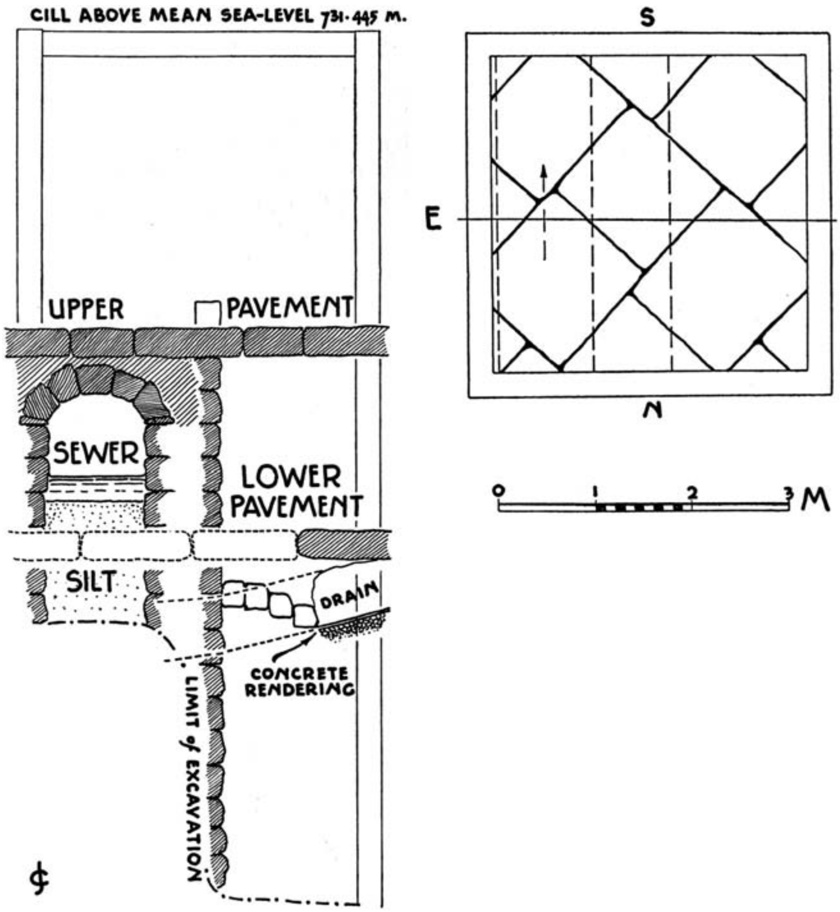

FIGURE 40 HaGai/El-Wad Street. The upper street pavement in Johns's excavation; Left: Section; Right: Plan
LEFT: JOHNS 1932:98, FIG. 1; RIGHT: JOHNS 1932:99, FIG. 2

alongside it, which dates to the Late Byzantine or Early Islamic periods. Two large flagstones arranged parallel to the street's axis were found to the east of this wall.[78] They most probably belong to the Roman Cardo's eastern portico.

Further south, the HaGai/El-Wad Street Tunnel is an underground passage along HaGai/El-Wad Street at the site where the street passes beneath the vault of the Great Causeway. In this section, two excavation shafts are visible on

78 Alexander Onn, *pers. comm.* I am grateful to Alexander for sharing this information with me.

FIGURE 41
The upper street (Cardo) pavement in Johns's excavations (19.3.1931)
ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY ARCHIVES, BRITISH MANDATE FILE, JERUSALEM, MUSLIM QUARTER 6A, VOL. 102; COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

FIGURE 42
Drainage channel under the Cardo, during Johns's excavations in 1931
ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY ARCHIVES, BRITISH MANDATE FILE, JERUSALEM, MUSLIM QUARTER 6A, VOLUME 102; COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

FIGURE 43
The interior of the drainage channel. Photo No. 2885, April 25, 1931
ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY ARCHIVES, BRITISH MANDATE FILE, JERUSALEM, MUSLIM QUARTER 6A, VOLUME 102; COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

opposite sides of the passage. At the bottom of the shafts, the flagstones of the Eastern Cardo are exposed roughly 4 m below the level of the current passage (727.50 m asl). The west shaft was dug by Hamilton and the east by Magen.[79] Both shafts were sunk near the line of contact between the original causeway vault (from the Roman period) and a pointed vault from the Early Islamic period that extended the original causeway further north. The vault of this original causeway is 8 m wide and it stretches over the Eastern Cardo. In both shafts, narrow sidewalks built higher than the street level were discovered along the causeway piers. They were probably intended to enable pedestrians to walk along the main thoroughfare, while also narrowing it to a width of c. 6.10 m and creating a narrow passing point at the intersection of the Eastern Cardo with the Great Causeway and the Decumanus that it carried.

In Shaft III, located at the southern end of the HaGai Street Tunnel and not visible today, the Cardo was exposed at 727 m asl. The drainage channel (0.7 m wide) is covered with flat stone slabs lying c. 0.3 m beneath the paving stones of the street.[80]

79 Hamilton 1933; Kloner and Bar Nathan 2017:60–62.
80 Hamilton 1932:107, 1933:37.

Some 20 m south of Shaft III, at the foot of the rock cliff that today separates the Jewish Quarter from the Western Wall Plaza, a 50 m long stretch of the Eastern Cardo was exposed to its full width.[81] The route of the street here runs across the slope of the southwestern hill. The overall width of the colonnaded street, together with the porticoes (Fig. 44), reached 24 m (approximately 80 Roman feet). It was flanked by a row of cells, probably used as shops, which were hewn in the bedrock beyond the western portico. The street's monumental design consisted of a central carriageway (8 m wide) paved with large flagstones of local *mizzi hilu* limestone (1.3–1.8 m long, 0.8–1.2 m wide, 0.3–0.4 m thick) laid diagonally across the street's axis. The surface of the paving stones was generally smooth.[82] The street sloped gently to the south, dropping by 0.70 m along the excavation area (c. 50 m long). The carriageway was lined with a 1.5 m wide, raised sidewalk on each side, of which only the western sidewalk was preserved. The sidewalk consisted of one to two stairs, leveled at 0.3–0.6 m above the street level. It was paved with similar large rectangle flagstones, placed parallel to the street's axis. The street had 6.5 m wide porticoes on both sides. Of the columns along the street, four column bases made of local hard limestone (*meleke*) were found throughout the excavation site. One was found *in situ* along the line of the western colonnade; on top of it, a broken shaft of the original column was placed in a later period (Fig. 45). Other column bases and column shafts, as well as two Corinthian capitals, were found incorporated in secondary use in the Islamic-period walls built above the Cardo (Figs. 46, 47). The western portico was c. 1 m higher than the level of the carriageway; the eastern portico was c. 0.2 m higher than the carriageway.

Small finds recovered in the excavation from below the paving stones of the street (e.g. coins, potsherds, glass vessels, epigraphic finds, etc.) indicate that the Cardo was paved during the first third of the second century, that is, in the Hadrianic reign and probably before 130 CE. No original paving stones of the Roman period were preserved along the western portico. Covering stones of fourth- and sixth-century cisterns that were hewn within the contours of the portico served to pave the sidewalk. The uneven surface of the hewn foundation, along with the impressions of carved blocks that are visible along its face, may indicate that the leveling of the western portico was not completed in Roman times.

---

81 Weksler-Bdolah 2014b; Weksler-Bdolah and Onn 2017. The remains have been discussed in detail in the past and are briefly summarized here.

82 Some of the flagstones' surfaces are engraved with parallel thin grooves, parallel or perpendicular to the street's axis. The grooves were probably cut at a later date.

FIGURE 44 The Eastern Cardo, plan of remains in the Western Wall Plaza Excavations
SURVEY: VADIM ESSMAN; DRAWING: NATALYA ZAK; COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

FIGURE 45 The Eastern Cardo in the Western Wall Plaza Excavations: A section of a monolithic column, standing atop an original column base in the western portico of the Eastern Cardo
PHOTO: S. WEKSLER-BDOLAH; COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

A 29 m long section of the eastern portico was unearthed between two parallel streets that diverged off the Cardo and led eastward toward the Temple Mount. Both streets were paved with rectangular flagstones, laid parallel or perpendicular to their east–west orientation. In the corner of the Cardo and the southern street, a heart-shaped base of a pier with two attached semi-columns was found *in situ* (Fig. 48). The heart-shaped column base and the elevated portico to its east may be part of a gatehouse (*propylaeum*) that led into a larger structure further to the east. The *propylaeum* structure interrupted the regu-

FIGURE 46
The Eastern Cardo in the Western Wall Plaza Excavations: Wall 84 was built in the Early Islamic period, above the Roman Cardo. A column base and column shaft that probably originated in the porticoes of the Cardo were reused in its core. Looking south
PHOTO: S. WEKSLER-BDOLAH; COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

FIGURE 47 Corinthian capital reused in the core of Wall 84
PHOTO: S. WEKSLER-BDOLAH; COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

FIGURE 48A A heart-shaped column base in the corner of the Cardo and the southern street. Looking north along the eastern portico
PHOTO: S. WEKSLER-BDOLAH; COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

FIGURE 48B
A heart-shaped column base in the corner of the Cardo and the southern street. Close-up of the base
PHOTO: S. WEKSLER-BDOLAH; COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

lar sequence of columns in the eastern colonnade of the street. Remains of a white mosaic pavement decorated with rhomboids and flowers were partly preserved in the eastern portico that now served as a *propylaeum*. It contained a foundation-deposit hoard of Byzantine coins, the latest of which were minted in the reign of Emperor Justinian. No remains of the original, Roman-period pavement of the eastern portico were preserved.

A complex set of drainage channels was installed below the Cardo's surface. The main channel was unearthed below the center of the carriageway, running from north to south. It is hewn in bedrock and covered with flat stone slabs sealed below the Cardo paving. Segments of two other north–south drainage channels were unearthed in the northern part of the excavated area. One is similar in shape to the channel that was discovered about 50 m to the north, along HaGai/El-Wad Street (Shafts I, II, above). Its walls are built of regular courses of building blocks and it is covered with a vaulted roof sealed beneath the Cardo. Manholes connect the paving stones to the roof of the channel and attest to their contemporaneous use. Another channel is built roughly along the line of the hewn drainage channel. Its walls were built of medium-sized field stones flattened on their inner side and it was covered with large, flat stones.

Two subsequent construction phases associated with the paving of the Eastern Cardo were recognized in the Western Wall Plaza excavations. First, work was conducted to adjust the steep topography of the southwestern hill to the axis and level of the Roman thoroughfare and to prepare the infrastructure. Earlier building remains were removed or stabilized to provide a foundation on which the street could be paved. Bedrock higher than street level was quarried away, creating a vertical cliff (11 m high) running north–south for about 25 m along the western side of the street. Abandoned quarries and hewn installations were intentionally filled up to the level of the Cardo and a complex network of drainage channels was constructed. The carriageway and sidewalks were then paved with flagstones and the columns were placed along the porticoes. Clearly, both construction phases were part of an ongoing process that took place in the Hadrianic reign. Nevertheless, the paving of the porticoes was probably not completed during the Hadrianic era, possibly, as suggested above, due to something unexpected (was it the Bar Kokhba Revolt?) that stopped the works.

A deliberate accumulation of earth fill that was brought to the site in order to adjust the surface, similar to that identified in the Cardo excavations, was also documented in excavations in the area of the Roman forum.[83] Further-

83 Kenyon 1974:228, 261; Humbert 2011:31–33.

more, it is quite possible that the polemic account of Eusebius describing the intentional earth fill piled up by the Romans over the tomb of Christ and the subsequent paving of the elevated surface before erecting a temple to Venus on it (Eus. *Vita Const.*, Cameron and Hall 1999, III, 26)[84] was consistent with the nature of the Romans' preparatory infrastructure work identified in the Eastern Cardo.

About 20 m south of the section described above, a row of rectangular cells was hewn in the bedrock in the lower part of the cliff where the Esh Ha-Torah Yeshiva has been built. The shape and location of these cells suggest that they were first quarried out as shops along the ancient colonnaded street.[85]

50 m south of the Western Wall Plaza excavations and c. 110 m north of the southern Ottoman city wall, along the route of the ancient street, Johns recorded the ancient street paving as well as the drainage channel installed beneath it.[86] Photographs in the Israel Antiquities Authority archives show that the street was exposed along a roughly 2.5 m wide strip. The paving is composed of rectangular stone slabs, beneath which lay a drainage channel that was rectangular in section. The channel's covering stones were missing and the street's paving stones lay directly above it. Many of these had broken edges, probably the result of frequent raising and replacement.

A rectangular rock-hewn chamber was exposed at the foot of the cliff facing the Western Wall c. 65 m south of the section of street uncovered in the Western Wall Plaza and 90 m north of the Ottoman city wall. It is c. 4.5 m long and 3.0 m wide. The cell was identified as a shop at the western side of the Roman Cardo.[87] To the north of this cell, similar rooms were documented. The resemblance of these cells to the shop cells exposed west of the street in the Western Wall Plaza excavations supports the hypothesis that they were also shops.

The west shaft (Shaft I) in the series of shafts dug by Warren across the Tyropoeon Valley was excavated on the Cardo's route, c. 80–90 m north of the southern Ottoman city wall. A large, smooth paving stone was found at 725.29 m asl. Beneath this stone, the drainage channel of the ancient street's southward continuation was exposed.[88] In 1941, paving stones of the ancient street and the drainage channel were unearthed near Warren's Shaft I. The excavation

84 A similar description, whose reasonable source is found in Eusebius's testimony, appears in Sozomenos (Soz. *HE* II, 1.3).

85 Baruch and Reich 2003:154, note 3.

86 Johns 1948: Sounding II.

87 Baruch and Weiss 2009.

88 Warren and Conder 1884:184, Pl. 26.

FIGURE 49
The Eastern Cardo's pavement north of the line of the Southern Ottoman Wall, west of the Dung Gate. Looking south
REICH 2008:1808; COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL EXPLORATION SOCIETY

was conducted c. 50–70 m north of the south city wall during repairs on the sewage system and reached a depth of over 6 m. The wide street is well-paved with large stones and has a drainage channel under its center.[89] Inside the city wall and c. 35 m west of Dung Gate, the surface of the ancient street was exposed over an area 17 m long and 8 m wide. It consisted of rectangular flagstones laid on a slight diagonal across the street. A deep, rock-hewn drainage channel extending from north to south was cut along the center of the street, which had undergone many repairs over the centuries (Fig. 49).[90]

In the 1940s and again in the 1970s the ancient street, whose southern parts look more like a paved plaza, was exposed to about 60 m south of the Ottoman

89 Johns 1948: Sounding III.

90 This section was first investigated by Johns (1948) and then by M. Ben-Dov, Reich and Billig. The finds are summarized in Reich 2008:1808.

wall (Fig. 50).[91] The street is 12 m wide and in the south the width of the paved area increases to c. 17 m. The flagstones are rectangular (0.6–1.2 m long, 0.4–0.6 m wide) and are laid across the street in an east–west direction or marginally diagonal to its axis, unlike the paving in the street sections described above. Johns's 1942 report in the Israel Antiquities Authority archives records 23 rows of rectangular paving stones measuring 1.0–1.3 m long, 0.5–0.7 m wide, and 0.2–0.3 m thick. A drainage channel exposed beneath the street followed a rather winding course.

Along the western side of the street, two column bases were discovered *in situ* inside square recesses hewn for them in the bedrock. A similar column base found at another location was placed here during restoration work on the site (in the 1980s) and three column bases are now visible, up to c. 15 m south of the Ottoman wall. The bases are simple and low and have a square base surmounted by a round column shaft (Fig. 51). The column bases are c. 3.36 m apart. Column shafts were also discovered, including a monolithic column fragment that is today located on the surface south of the paved section (Fig. 52).

The western portico of the street was hewn in bedrock. The portico is roughly 4 m wide and to its west is a row of five rooms quarried into the rock. The orientation of these rooms is diagonal in relation to the Cardo's orientation and they seem to be part of a more ancient structure that was built into the side of the hill, further up the slope. The lower row of rooms in this structure borders on the colonnaded street and was damaged when the street was quarried out, explaining why all the rooms are truncated on the east side. They may have been incorporated as shops along the newly laid street. The structure itself most probably dates to the Second Temple period.[92]

M. Ben-Dov identified the widening of the street in the south as a plaza or junction from where part of the street turned toward the western hill—Mount Zion—while a second part was a stepped street that dropped down toward the Pool of Siloam.[93] Excavations conducted in recent years along the presumed route of the Cardo, south of this 'plaza', have shown that the Cardo did not continue toward the Pool of Siloam. It can therefore cautiously be suggested that this widening marks the site of the southern city gate, which has not yet been discovered but is presumed to lie slightly south of the excavated section.[94]

91 Johns 1948: Soundings V, VI; Ben-Dov 1985:224, 226–232.

92 For a plan of the remains see Baruch and Weiss 2009, Fig. 1.

93 Ben-Dov 1985:227.

94 The section in question includes column bases and shop cells which probably did not reach the actual line of the gate.

FIGURE 50 The Eastern Cardo outside the Ottoman Walls, near the Dung Gate. Looking northeast
BEN-DOV 1985:224; COURTESY OF MEIR BEN-DOV

FIGURE 51 The Eastern Cardo outside the Ottoman Walls, near the Dung Gate. Bases of columns west of the street axis, looking southwest
BEN-DOV 1985:228; COURTESY OF MEIR BEN-DOV

FIGURE 52 Monolithic column in the Eastern Cardo excavations outside the Dung Gate
PHOTO: S. WEKSLER-BDOLAH 2007

The south Decumanus along David Street and the Street of the Chain

The suggested small square that lay in front of the northern gate of the camp, with a possible monument (*tetrapylon*?) at its center (see above), was now in the heart of the Roman city with four streets leading from it: The Western Cardo to the north, the military street (*via principalis*) to the south, a street leading east along the Street of the Chain, toward the Temple Mount, and a street going west, along David Street toward the western gate of the city. The two streets whose remains were exposed in David Street and along the Street of the Chain are generally regarded as being part of the Decumanus, which led from the city's western gate down the Transversal Valley to the Temple Mount in the east.[95] The small deviation at the junction between the western part (David Street) and the eastern part (Street of the Chain) shows in my opinion that—like the Western Cardo—the route of the 'Decumanus' is rather an axis created by a combination of segments, each with its own history.

David Street

A small paved section (2 sq. m) was recently exposed near the western end of David Street (within the modern road inside Jaffa Gate).[96] The uniform limestone slabs of the ancient pavement are arranged parallel to the street axis, from west to east. Beneath the flagstones, a shallow water channel covered with stone slabs was found that drops down from west to east. The street was dated to the sixth century CE (Byzantine period) and the excavators propose identifying it with the city's main lateral thoroughfare (the Decumanus) shown on the Madaba map. Three earlier plaster floors from the fourth–sixth century CE discovered beneath the stone paving attest to the existence of a street along this route prior to the sixth century. The excavation did not proceed below their level and did not reach bedrock. It is reasonable to assume that this route was also the route of a Roman street from the time of Aelia Capitolina that led to the western city gate, but the remains of the Roman street have not yet been found.

---

95 Tsafrir 1999a 146; Kloner 2006. This suggestion is valid although only a single excavation has so far been conducted along the route of David Street (Sion and Puni 2011, below), revealing a street from the Byzantine period (fourth-sixth centuries), not Roman. However, the excavation did not dig any lower than the Byzantine level and the remains of a Roman-period street that are known along the route of the Street of the Chain support the suggested identification of the whole of this east–west axis, between Jaffa Gate and the Temple Mount, as the Roman Decumanus.

96 Sion and Puni 2011.

The Street of the Chain

Excavations conducted along the eastern section of the Street of the Chain in the early 1990s exposed paved sections of an earlier street.[97] This street, identified by many as the Decumanus of Aelia Capitolina, was aligned on a slight diagonal (southwest–northeast) and continued as far as the Temple Mount. The street was laid on top of the arches of the Great Causeway, a 100 m long arched Roman bridge. The structure of the Great Causeway includes the Second Temple-period Wilson's Arch that is incorporated in the western wall of the Temple Mount and two rows of arches to the west of Wilson's Arch. The northern row (the 'northern bridge') was built between 70 and 130 CE as a narrow bridge possibly connecting the military camp of the Tenth Legion with the Temple Mount, while the later, southern row (the 'southern bridge') was built during the time of Aelia Capitolina in order to widen the narrow military bridge and carry a broad street toward the Temple Mount (the Decumanus; 8–10 m wide; Figs. 53, 54).[98]

Excavations conducted c. 100 m west of the Temple Mount's Chain Gate (Bab al-Silsileh) by R. Abu-Riya exposed a section of paving of an ancient street (in an area covering 5 × 10 m) that was dated to the second century CE. The street was paved with large rectangular flagstones, most of which had smoothly worn faces and two of which were grooved. A plastered channel whose covering stones were incorporated into the paving stretched along the street. Another paved section, in an area measuring 3.5 × 6 m, was unearthed by Gershuni, east of this section. The paving uncovered was laid over the arches of the Great Causeway and made of rectangular stones arranged across the general direction of the street, like the paving discovered by Abu-Riya. Fragments of first-century CE Herodian pottery were discovered beneath the flagstones, leading the excavator to attribute the same date to the street.

Further east, E. Kogan-Zehavi exposed 20 m of paved sections in the Street of the Chain. Here too, the pavement was laid over the vaults of the Great Causeway and consisted of large stone slabs similar in form and size (length c. 2 m, width 1 m, thickness 0.3–0.4 m) to those found west of this section. Some of the stone slabs were finely dressed and carefully arranged, whereas others were rather coarsely finished. The stone slabs uncovered in the Abu-Riya, Gershuny and Kogan-Zehavi excavations are now visible in two places above the vaults of the Great Causeway, where they lie over both the south and the north rows of arches. The construction of both rows was probably completed in the second century CE at the latest.

97 Abu-Riya 1991; Gershuni 1991; Kogan-Zehavi 1997. For summary, see Geva 2005 1813.

98 Onn, Weksler-Bdolah and Bar Nathan 2011; Onn and Weksler-Bdolah 2017, and above.

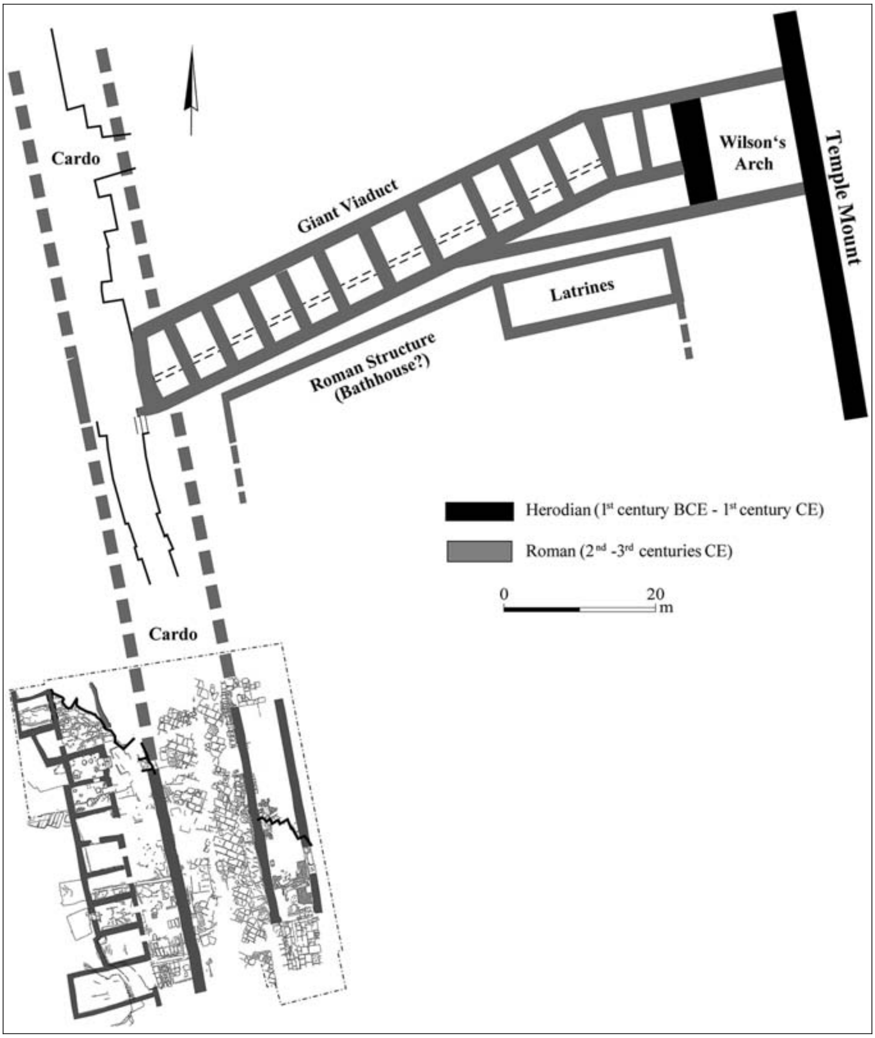

FIGURE 53 The Eastern Cardo, the Great Causeway and adjacent buildings in the Roman period. Plan based on excavation findings from the Western Wall Plaza and the Great Causeway excavations (2005–2012), directed by A. Onn and S. Weksler-Bdolah on behalf of the IAA

SURVEY: VADIM ESSMAN, DRAWING: NATALYA ZAK; COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

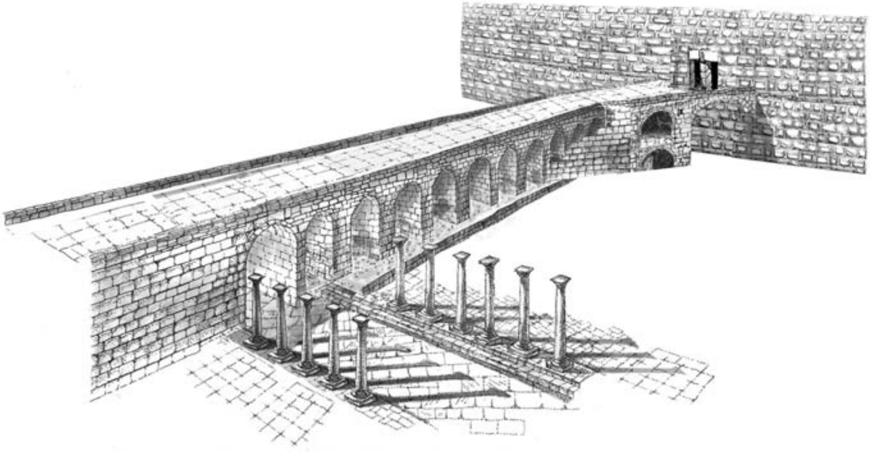

FIGURE 54 Reconstruction of the Great Causeway, carrying the Decumanus toward the Temple Mount. The Eastern Cardo passes below the bridge. Based on the excavation findings
DRAWING: YAKOV SHMIDOV, AFTER ONN, WEKSLER-BDOLAH AND BAR NATHAN 2011; COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

The Northern Decumanus along the Route of the Via Dolorosa

The Via Dolorosa (Derech Sha'ar HaArayot/ṭarîq Bab Sitty Mariam) follows a straight axis for 460 m between Lions Gate in the east and HaGai/El-Wad Street in the west. It lies to the north of the Temple Mount's northern wall but is not completely parallel with it, possibly because of the existence of the large Birket Israel (Isra'il) pool north of the eastern side of the Temple Mount, which is estimated to have been constructed in the Second Temple period. Remains of the ancient street paving have been discovered in several places along it.

Approximately 150 m west of Lions Gate, and beneath the present-day street level, ancient paving stones were discovered in excavations conducted by M. Magen.[99] They are made of hard limestone and are rectangular with slightly worn upper faces. Nine paving stones were exposed, ranging in size from 0.5 × 0.6 m (the smaller slabs) to 1.0 × 1.9 m (the large slabs) and they are roughly 0.4–0.5 m thick. The stones were carefully arranged so as to abut one another. A. Kloner and B. Zissu attribute the paving to the Second Temple period (first century CE), whereas Y. Tsafrir and O. Gutfeld have attributed it to the Roman Decumanus of Aelia Capitolina, which leads to the eastern city gate and is also visible on the Byzantine Madaba map (Fig. 55).

99 Gutfeld 2007:75; Kloner and Zissu 2010; see summary in Weksler-Bdolah 2011a:68–70.

FIGURE 55 Via Dolorosa. An ancient pavement incorporated into the current pavement of the street, looking west
PHOTO: S. WEKSLER-BDOLAH

The East Forum and the Ecce Homo Arch

Approximately 250 m west of Lions Gate and beneath the present-day street level, within the precinct of the Sisters of Zion Convent and on both sides of the Via Dolorosa, a sizeable plaza paved with large flagstones was discovered crossed by an east–west-aligned street, identified as the Northern Decumanus of Aelia Capitolina (Figs. 56, 57).[100]

Part of the paved Roman plaza was laid over vaults spanning a pool identified as the Struthion Pool, a large water reservoir from the Second Temple period. The exposed plaza measures 48 m from north to south and 32 m from west to east. The plaza's large, well-preserved paving stones are well-dressed and tightly arranged parallel to the street axis. The stones are worn and have smooth faces (Fig. 58). In the northern part of the plaza, shallow channels were hewn in the surface of the flagstones to drain the rainwater and a number of stones are engraved with board games (Fig. 59). The plaza slopes gently to the south and is crossed from west to east by the street, identified as the North Decumanus. The street pavers are laid parallel to its axis and have perpendicular grooves to prevent slipping (Fig. 60). The street is 11 m wide.

100 Clermont-Ganneau 1899:49–76; Vincent and Abel 1914–1926:23–31; M. Aline de Sion 1955; Benoit 1971; Kisilevitz and Greenwald 2012:136–142.

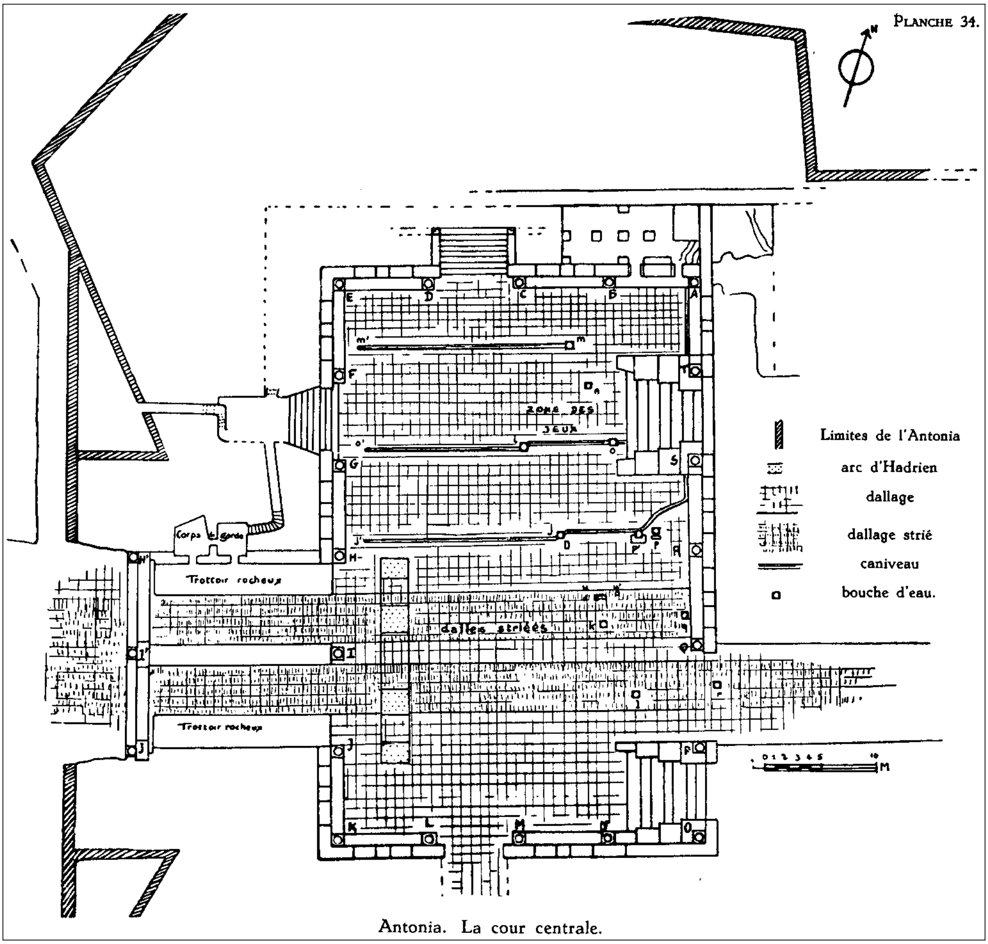

FIGURE 56 A paved plaza (the *Lithostrotos*) and a street that crosses it, in the Sisters of Zion Convent and the Church of the Condemnation and Imposition of the Cross
PLAN AND RECONSTRUCTION AFTER VINCENT AND STEVE 1954: PL. XLIV

A triumphal arch with three openings that spanned the street at the western end of the plaza has been preserved (Figs. 61A, B; 62). The central arch, which is 5.20 m wide and stood 6.25 m higher than the plaza, is fully preserved and is known as the Ecce Homo Arch that can still be seen spanning the Via Dolorosa. The north opening (2.36 m wide, 5.2 m high) lies inside the Sisters of Zion Convent. Father P. Benoit suggested that the paved plaza, the street crossing it and the Ecce Homo Arch were constructed at the same time, probably under Hadrian. His proposal is generally accepted by scholars, despite other proposals that have been made. These include M. Aline de Sion's suggestion that the plaza dates from the Second Temple period and was used as an inner courtyard

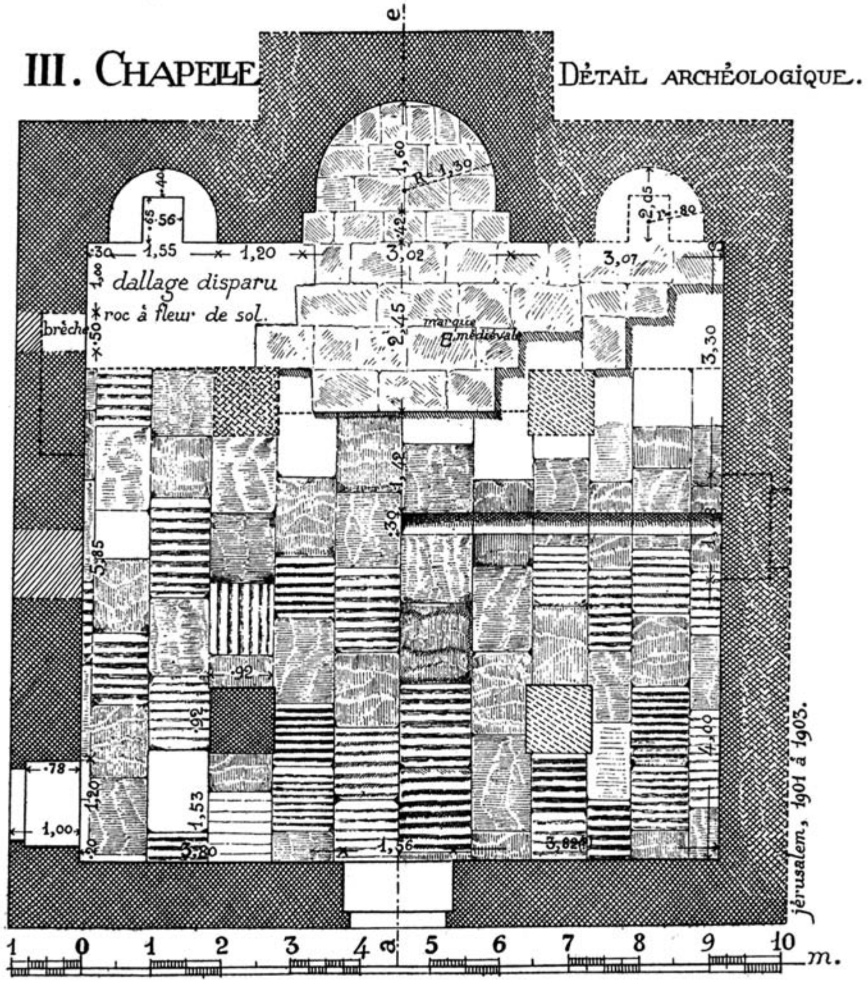

FIGURE 57 A section of the Plaza's pavement in the Church of the Condemnation and Imposition of the Cross
VINCENT AND ABEL 1914–1926: PL. LXI, III

in the Antonia Fortress, the traditional site of the trial of Jesus. Indeed, the plaza is known as the 'Lithostrotos'. In her opinion, the triumphal arch was built at the time of Hadrian over the earlier plaza. According to other proposals, the arch was built during the Second Temple period (as suggested by Blomme) or served as the eastern city gate of Aelia Capitolina (according to Eliav).[101]

101 Blomme 1979; Eliav 2003, 2005:99.

FIGURE 58 Convent of the Sisters of Zion, pavement of the *Lithostrotos* square. A shallow channel for draining rainwater, looking south
PHOTO: S. WEKSLER-BDOLAH

FIGURE 59 A board game engraved on a paving stone, Church of the Condemnation and Imposition of the Cross
PHOTO: S. WEKSLER-BDOLAH

FIGURE 60 The pavement of the Decumanus crossing the square. Slots to prevent slipping across the stones. Looking west
PHOTO: S. WEKSLER-BDOLAH

FIGURE 61A
The Ecce Homo Arch over the Via Dolorosa, looking east
A PHOTOGRAPH BY AUGUST SALZMANN, 1856 (SALZMANN 1856)

FIGURE 61B The Ecce Homo Arch over the Via Dolorosa, looking east. The Ecce Homo Arch during construction of the monastery
PHOTOGRAPHED BY MACDONALD; WILSON 1865, II: 27B

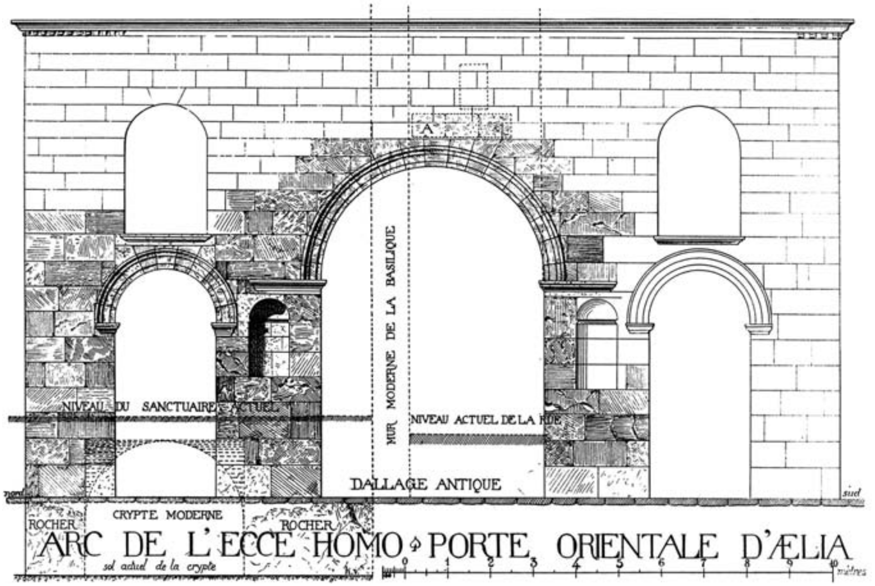

FIGURE 62 The Sisters of Zion Convent. Reconstruction of the western façade of the Ecce Homo Arch
VINCENT AND ABEL 1914–1926:25, FIG. 6

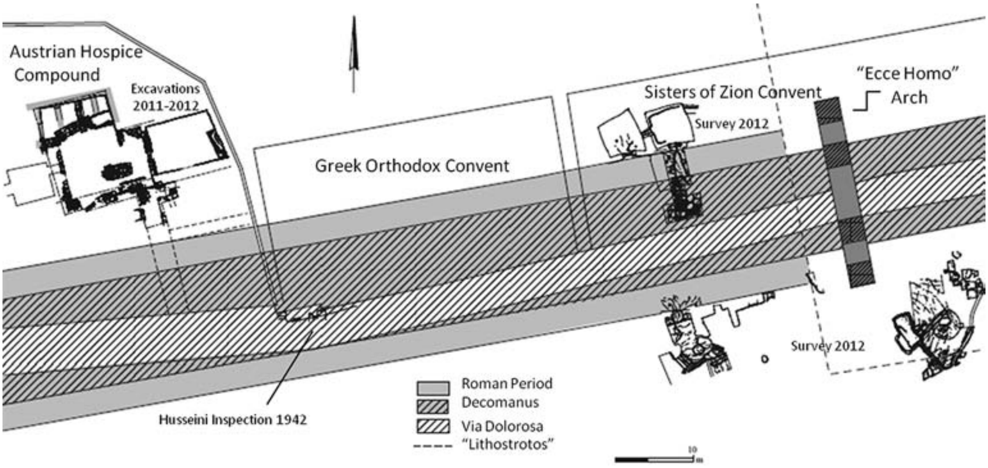

FIGURE 63 The Northern Decumanus: Reconstruction based on a survey of remains in the area of the Ecce Homo Arch
KISILEVITZ AND GREENWALD 2012:138, FIG. 2, COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

In 2012, an archaeological survey was conducted in a building compound located south of the Via Dolorosa, opposite the Sisters of Zion Convent and the Ecce Homo Arch.[102] The survey identified paved sections of the Lithostrotos and the Decumanus to the west of the Ecce Homo Arch and presented a proposed reconstruction of the Decumanus in the Roman period (Fig. 63). The street's overall width was 17 m, consisting of a carriageway 11 m wide with a narrower 3 m wide sidewalk on both sides. To the west of the arch, the flagstones were arranged on a diagonal to the direction of the street, whereas in the Lithostrotos compound they were laid parallel to its axis. West of the Ecce Homo Arch, the street is bordered by walls hewn in the rock attesting to preparatory work that preceded the street's paving, similar to the Eastern Cardo (Fig. 64).[103] Rectangular hewn cells with openings facing the street to the north and south of the narrow sidewalks were identified as shops.

Summary: The Urban Street System

The street sections from the Roman and Byzantine periods whose remnants have been discovered beneath the streets of the Old City of Jerusalem followed the Roman orthogonal tradition. Most of the streets were paved along a straight

102 Kisilevitz and Greenwald 2012.
103 Clermont-Ganneau 1899:50–60.

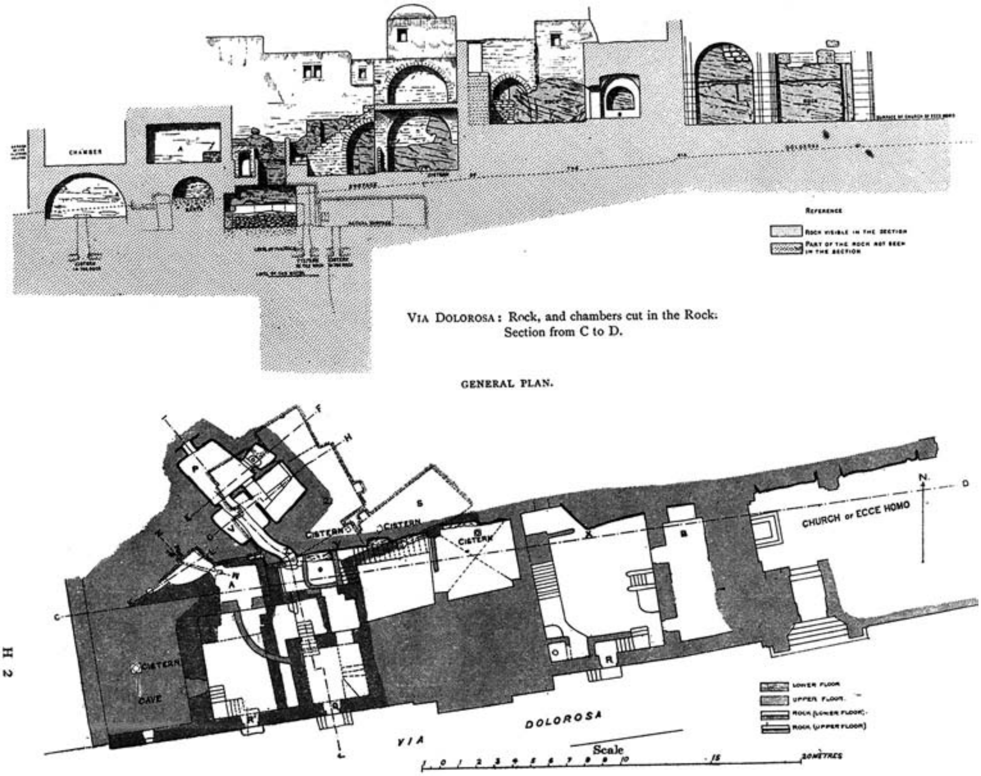

FIGURE 64 The high rock cliff north of the Via Dolorosa resulting from the Roman preparation works
CLERMONT-GANNEAU 1899:51

axis, with slight deviations from the cardinal directions due to consideration for the natural topography and for structures from the Second Temple period that still remained standing, the most prominent of these being the Temple Mount.

In most cases, only narrow sections of the streets have been uncovered and their original width is unknown. Among the streets that have been exposed to their full width are the Eastern Cardo, which has a total width of c. 24 m including the porticoes and a broad central carriageway (11 m wide). The Western Cardo (in its southern section) is c. 23 m wide and has a 12.6 m wide carriageway down its center, and the Northern Decumanus along the Via Dolorosa is 17 m wide with a central carriageway 11 m wide. These wide streets were the city's main thoroughfares. The secondary streets were probably narrower than these, although there is no evidence for this. Sections of streets that are about half as wide (5.4 m) as the main streets have been discovered in the past on

Mount Zion.[104] Jerusalem's main streets range from 11 to 12 m between the porticoes and together with the porticoes they are between 17 and 24 m across. Their dimensions therefore resemble those of contemporary colonnaded streets in other cities, where the width between the two colonnades is c. 11–12 m. For example, the 12 m wide Valley Street in Bet She'an-Scythopolis,[105] the 11 m wide decumanus in Flavia Neopolis,[106] the cardo in Jerash,[107] the decumanus in Hammat Gader,[108] the decumanus in Gadara,[109] the colonnaded street with shops at Sebastia,[110] the decumanus in Aleppo,[111] and the cardo and decumanus in Philippopolis,[112] Palmyra,[113] among similar streets in other cities.[114]

All the street sections discovered in Jerusalem are paved with large stone slabs that were specially prepared for the purpose. In the Eastern Cardo and in the northern part of the Western Cardo as well as in the Northern Decumanus, the flagstones of the central carriageway between the sidewalks were arranged diagonally. In the sidewalks themselves and in the other streets, they were arranged along or across the main street axis. Some of the faces of the stones are grooved across the line of the street, but most are smooth. Such grooving is known in other cities. It was probably intended to prevent cartwheels from slipping and therefore the grooves were generally added where the street rises or falls on a relatively sharp slope.[115] In Jerusalem, grooved stones have so far only been discovered *in situ* in public plazas such as the one inside Damascus Gate (above) or in the street crossing the east plaza, beneath the Ecce Homo Arch (above), indicating that in addition to preventing slippage, the grooves may also have been intended to slow the carts down in crowded places. In

104 The streets on Mount Zion and in the Tyropoeon Valley south of Jerusalem's Old City were dated to the Byzantine period (fifth–sixth centuries) and are not discussed below. See Gutfeld 2011:330–334.

105 The Valley Street in Scythopolis has very similar dimensions to those of the colonnaded street in Jerusalem. The open street is 8 m wide and has 2 m wide open sidewalks on each side, beyond which are 6 m wide porticoes (Tsafrir and Foerster 1994:99).

106 Magen 2009:54–59.

107 Kraeling 1938:127–128, Pl. 24.

108 Hirschfeld 1987: Pl. 14a.

109 Weber 1989:597–611.

110 Crowfoot, Kenyon and Sukenik 1942:50–52, 67–68, Fig. 32.

111 Sauvaget 1949.

112 Segal 1988:83–87.

113 Michalowski 1970:16–22.

114 For summaries see Broshi 1977:234–235; MacDonald 1986:41–44; Segal 1997:5–53, Table on pp. 48–49.

115 As at Bet She'an and Zippori. I am grateful to Zeev Weiss and Yoram Tsafrir for this information.

other streets in Jerusalem, grooves have been discovered in different directions on some of the flagstones, suggesting later repairs. Thus, grooves were discovered on some of the Eastern Cardo's paving stones in the Western Wall Plaza excavations (above) and in excavations at Ohel Yitzhak (above), in the northern part of the Western Cardo (visible in photographs, above) and on some of the paving stones of the ancient street along the route of the Christian Quarter Street (above). The inconsistency of the grooving, which is also known in other cities, is indicative of the length of the streets' existence and the repeated repairs made to the paving stones. Unlike at Zippori, none of the known street sections in Jerusalem show evidence of grooves that have been worn down by cartwheels. Rather than indicating a lack of carts in Jerusalem, however, this attests to the resilience of the hard paving stones.

The striking similarity between the paving of the two main longitudinal streets—the Eastern Cardo and the northern part of the Western Cardo—and the Northern Decumanus, as far as they are known at present, advances the theory that they were planned at the same time and in a uniform style. In other streets, the paving was arranged parallel or perpendicular to the main axis. On the basis of these, it would appear that the main thoroughfares of the Roman city, the *cardines* and the *decumani*, differed from most of the other streets in the city in that they were colonnaded and were paved in a different style. It is impossible to determine at this stage whether the reason for this was functional and related to the nature of the passing traffic (which presumably included carts, animals, and pedestrians) or whether it had another reason. It can be assumed that, among other things, it reflects the importance of the main colonnaded streets which, apart from being transportation and commercial arteries, played an important role in the fabric of urban life and provided the citizens with centers for public gatherings and 'recreation', as well as being routes for military and religious processions and generating a sense of pride in the city.

The Roman colonnaded street is generally considered to be a development of the Greek stoa. It probably dates back to the late first century CE (e.g., the Cardo in Jerash) and became common in many cities in the second and third centuries CE. According to some researchers, the Roman colonnaded street emerged in the eastern part of the Roman Empire and according to others, colonnaded streets appeared in the western part of the empire at the same time.[116] In Jerusalem, streets flanked with columns were first paved as part of

116 For detailed discussions of colonnaded streets, see Ward-Perkins 1977:283; 1981:262–263, 482, note 23; MacDonald 1986:43–44; Segal 1997:5–53; *inter alia*.

the municipal road system in the second century CE. As far as is known at this stage of the research, the city contained no colonnaded streets in the Second Temple period.

The Buildings of Aelia Capitolina

Based on archaeological finds and historical sources, the appearance of Aelia Capitolina was probably in many ways similar to that of other Roman cities. The main streets were colonnaded and punctuated by paved plazas enhanced by monumental structures; temples were built throughout the city, as were public buildings, places of entertainment, and residential dwellings. The huge Temple Mount was incorporated into the new urban landscape and a temple to Jupiter was probably built on top of it. Large water reservoirs and two aqueducts from the Second Temple period that led water to the city from distant springs apparently continued to function. The city was different from other Roman cities by reason of its proximity to the permanent camp of the Tenth Legion. Indeed, the garrison remained a walled enclave within the city although in daily life there would certainly have been a close relationship between the military personnel and the city's residents, many of whom were veterans of the Tenth Legion and families of the soldiers. The burial grounds, where civilians and soldiers were interred side by side, lay beyond the outer perimeter of the area covered by the city and the garrison.

Historical sources mention several buildings that glorified the streets of Aelia Capitolina. A Temple of Jupiter erected by Hadrian is described by Cassius Dio.[117] A brief section listing the buildings attributed to Hadrian and a description of the city at the time of his rule is preserved in the *Chronicon Paschale*, which was completed in the early seventh century CE. The manuscript's authenticity and attribution to the period when Aelia Capitolina existed, before Jerusalem's Christianization, is generally accepted by scholars, although most date it to a post-Hadrianic period (third or early fourth centuries CE).[118]

The *Chronicon Paschale* lists two *demosia*, or public bathhouses; a theater, whose remains have not yet been identified; the *trikamaron*, which is translated as a building with three vaulted halls that may be the Capitoline Temple (dedicated to the Capitoline triad: Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva); a *tetranymphon*,

117 Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 69, 12.
118 *Chron. Pasch.*: col. 613; Vincent and Abel 1914:6–16, Patrich 2002:175–177.

which was probably a fountain with four porticoes or four façades that may have surrounded the Pool of Siloam; a *dodekapylon*, a structure with twelve gates that was formerly called *anabathmoi*, denoting a staircase; and a *quadra*, which was most likely located on the Temple Mount and probably served as a place of worship.

The identity of the listed structures is not certain and has been extensively discussed in the literature. Remains of public bathhouses from the Roman period have recently been found west of the Temple Mount, near Robinson's Arch, at the foot of the Western Wall.[119] Southwest of Wilson's Arch, a large public latrine has been discovered inside a substantial structure that may belong to another bathhouse.[120] The theater mentioned in the *Chronicon Paschale* has yet to be unearthed. It may refer to an earlier theater, from the Second Temple period, which historical sources record Herod as having built and whose remains have also not yet been found.[121] Stone slabs identified as theater seats found incorporated within an Islamic structure near Robinson's Arch may originally have come from the Herodian or Hadrianic Roman theater presumed to have existed nearby.[122] Another possibility is that the reference was to a small odeon-like structure whose remains were recently discovered west of the Temple Mount, under Wilson's Arch.[123] Regarding the *trikamaron*, which may be the Capitoline Temple, some propose identifying its location on the Temple Mount, whereas others suggest that it was built at the municipal forum in the city center and that its remains are buried at present below the level of the church of the Holy Sepulchre (below); the *tetranymphon* was probably the Pool of Siloam, which according to the fourth-century Bordeaux Pilgrim was surrounded with porticoes. Most scholars identify the *quadra* ('square') with the square plaza on the Temple Mount that was probably reconstructed in the Hadrianic period and used for pagan worship. It was here that the Capitoline Temple is assumed to have been built and statues of the emperors placed.[124] The *dodekapylon*, formerly called *anabathmoi* ('steps'), may have been a stepped street with twelve ornamental gate towers that descended to Siloam, as some researchers have proposed. Another suggestion identifies it with a circus/hippodrome that has

119 Mazar 2011a 11–84; Reuven 2011.
120 Bahat 2013:173–178, Fig. 6.21; Onn, Weksler-Bdolah and Bar-Nathan 2011.
121 Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, 15 268–274.
122 Reich and Billig 2000.
123 Uziel, Lieberman and Solomon 2017. But this is less likely because the odeon-like structure is very small and certainly not intended to be used as a theater. In addition, it seems that the construction of the building never ended, and it was not used at all.
124 Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 69, 12, and below.

not yet been brought to light.[125] In my opinion, the term *dodekapylon* may refer to a plaza surrounded by porticoes, which may be the Column Plaza depicted inside the northern city gate on the Madaba map (Fig. 2, above). It is quite likely that twelve openings or gates could have been incorporated around this square. In addition to the city gate and the arch shown at the north end of the Eastern Cardo on the Madaba map, these could well have been the entrances to shops in the square, or decorative niches with statues similar to those known in other Roman cities.[126] Since no archaeological remains of the outer circumference of the Column Plaza have been discovered, the proposal is theoretical at this stage and cannot be proven. It is however worth mentioning that in one of the proposed reconstructions, M. Ben-Dov, and then A. Segal suggested that the square be restored with shop openings symmetrically aligned between the northern gate structure and the streets branching out from the plaza to create a total of twelve openings around the square (Figs. 65, 66).[127] The *dodekapylon* was previously called *anabathmoi*, literally meaning 'steps'. The wording of the paragraph suggests that during the Second Temple period this structure was known as *anabathmoi* and in the Hadrianic period (or slightly later) it was known as the 'twelve-gated structure'. According to one interpretation, the term *anabathmoi* refers to a stepped public square where free bread was distributed to the city's residents. Squares of this kind existed in Rome and in Constantinople.[128] In my opinion, it is likely that Jerusalem had a similar square as well, which may have been located near the northern gate. The custom of distributing bread to the poor that took place in Jerusalem near the 'Great Gate', perhaps the northern city gate, is recorded by Antoninus of Piacenza. In describing his journey to Jerusalem in the latter half of the sixth century he writes, "Then, going out to the great gate, we arrived at St. Hesychius … where Helena pro-

125 Patrich 2002:175–176, and references there.

126 Colonnaded, oval plazas in the vicinity of city gates are known in other cities, for example at Bostra, and Gerasa (Segal 1997:70–78). Horseshoe-shaped plazas inside city gates with niches where statues were placed are known at Perge and Side, in Asia Minor, see Akurgal 1985:331–332, Fig. 163,1 (Perge), 337–339, Fig. 165,2 (Side).

127 Ben-Dov 2002:120–121; Segal 1997:78–79, Figs. 79, 80. According to Ben-Dov, Fig. 65 is a reconstruction of Damascus Gate at the end of the Second Temple period, while according to Segal it is a suggested reconstruction of the column plaza in the Roman period. Both suggest Fig. 66 as a reconstruction of the Damascus Gate column plaza in the Byzantine period.

128 Patrich 2002:188 with references to Cameron and Herrin 1984:205; Jones 1964:696–701; *inter alia*. In Patrich's opinion, this is not the meaning of the *anabathmoi* of Aelia Capitolina.

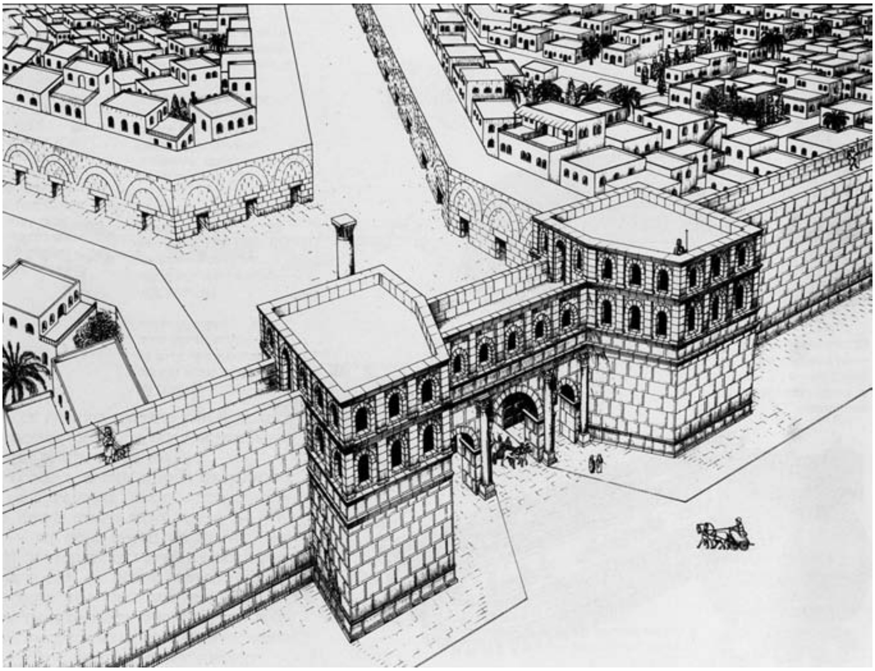

FIGURE 65 Damascus Gate. The reconstruction of the square on the inner side of the northern city gate in the Roman Period
AFTER M. BEN-DOV 2002:120; SEGAL 1997: FIG. 79; COURTESY OF M. BEN-DOV

vided for the distribution of bread to people who are poor or strangers" (AP, Wilkinson 2002:142).[129]

Drijvers is of the opinion that Antoninus may have confused Helena, Emperor Constantine's mother, with Queen Helena of Adiabene.[130] Whatever the

129 *"Item exeuntibus nobis ad portam maiorem uenimus ad sanctum Isicium, qui ibidem in corpore iacet, ubi etiam et panes erogantur ad homines pauperes et peregrinos, quod deputauit Helena"*. St. Hesychius is not identified, and the location of his grave is unknown. The mention of Helena in connection with the distribution of bread suggests that the Pilgrim was referring to Helena, Queen of Adiabene, as described in the historical sources. Josephus describes Helena's famine relief in *Jewish Antiquities*, (Jos. *AJ*: 20:51–53). Eusebius, too, mentions that "Helena distributed bread among the poor and the strangers" (Eus. *HE*, II: 12). The Tomb of Helena, which was familiar to the pilgrims, is not far outside the northern city gate, along the road that leads north, as described by St. Jerome: When Paula entered the city … "She passed on her left the Tomb of Helena, Queen of Adiabene, who brought the people corn in time of famine, and entered Jerusalem …" (Hier. *Epit. S. Paulae*; Wilkinson 2002:83).

130 Drijvers 1992:70, note 67.

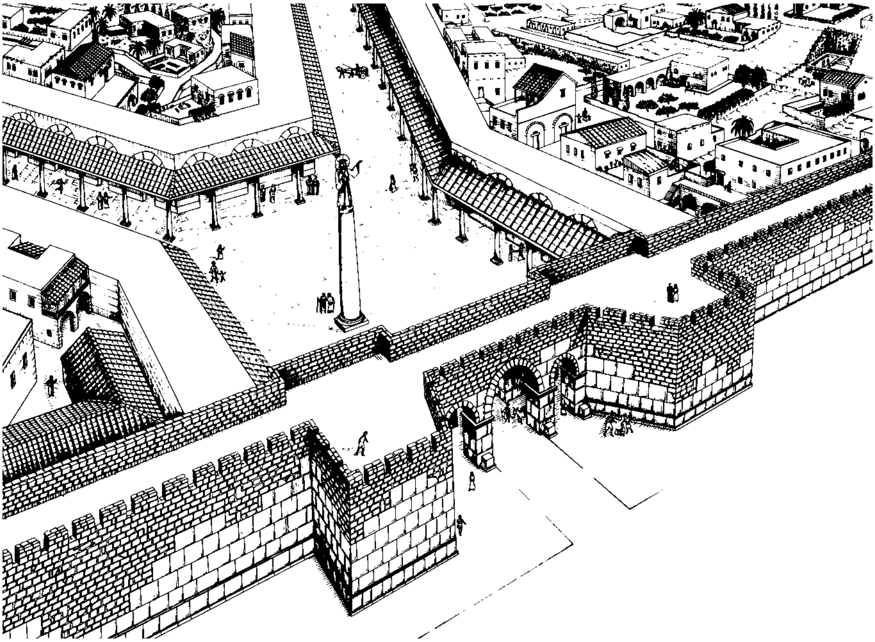

FIGURE 66 The reconstruction of the square on the inner side of the northern city gate in the Byzantine period
AFTER M. BEN-DOV 2002:121; SEGAL 1997: FIG. 80; COURTESY OF M. BEN-DOV

explanation, a custom of distributing bread to Jerusalem's needy in the sixth century did apparently exist. The tradition may have been linked to the name of Queen Helena and been practiced since the Second Temple period, possibly near Damascus Gate. The natural topography in this location forms a sunken area lower than its surroundings, a feature that is still evident today, in the modern design of a stepped square outside the gate (Fig. 67). The ancient builders may also have emphasized the natural topography by stepping the rock surface around the plaza, thus creating a terraced square. It should be noted in this context that Hennessy's excavations exposed a small section of stepped bedrock in the foundations of the Damascus Gate's western tower.[131]

In addition to the list of structures, the *Chronicon Paschale* (*Chron. Pasch.*: 613) indicates that Hadrian "divided the city into seven *amphoda* (ἄμφοδα/vici), and appointed *amphodarchs* onto each from its own men, and allotted an *amphodon* (ἄμφοδον) to each *amphodarch*; and to this day each *amphodon* is

131 Wightman 1989:323–324, Figs. 171–172.

FIGURE 67 The plaza outside Damascus Gate
PHOTO: S. WEKSLER-BDOLAH, MAY 2019

named after its own *amphodarch*".[132] According to Isaac, "this [description] cannot reflect the organization of a Roman colony in the second century", and it fits the Byzantine period, when the text was compiled. However, as *amphoda* is a term pertaining to a topographical division of the urban space, it may cautiously be suggested that the text reflects a division of the Hadrianic city into seven quarters.

Another echo of the existence of public buildings and temples in Aelia Capitolina is found in the homilies of Cyril of Jerusalem. One homily, concerning the miracle of the healing of the paralyzed man by Jesus beside the Pool of Bethesda (Cyr. Hier. *Catech.*) makes a veiled reference to the cult of Asclepius that was practiced at the Pool of Bethesda.[133] In his first mystagogical catechesis, the bishop addresses the new members of the Christian community living in Jerusalem and praises them for renouncing their love of the theater, racing in the hippodrome, contests in the amphitheater and pagan temples (Cyr. Hier.

132 Di Segni *CIIP* 1.2, 771; see also Isaac, *CIIP* 1.1, 20–21.
133 Wilkinson 2002:346–347.

FIGURE 68 Coin of Aelia Capitolina. Obverse: Bust of Hadrian. Reverse: Façade of distyle temple: Within, in center: Jupiter seated; on left: Minerva standing, on right: Juno standing
MESHORER 1989:70–71, CAT. NO. 1; COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL MUSEUM, JERUSALEM

Catech. myst.), thus providing evidence of a local urban reality that was apparently familiar to his audience, as scholars have remarked.[134]

Temples and Ritual Compounds

Pagan rites followed in Aelia Capitolina included official cults of the city practiced in temples and sacred compounds, alongside private domestic cults. Remains of the temples, or associated cultic structures, have only been partially preserved in very few places and their identification is controversial. The main source of information comes from historical sources, epigraphy, and small finds such as coins, engravings on gemstones, amulets, figurines and reliefs, and decorated pottery, which enable us to reconstruct an image of the rituals practiced by the city's residents.[135]

The Temple Mount and the Capitolium of Aelia Capitolina

On the back of a Hadrianic coin minted in Aelia Capitolina, a two-column façade of a temple with a triangular gable is depicted. In the center of the temple sits Jupiter resting on a scepter, with Juno and Minerva standing at his sides (Fig. 68). As is customarily accepted, this temple was dedicated to Jupiter and to

134 Stroumza 1999:425, *inter alia*.
135 For summaries of the known evidence of cults practiced in Aelia Capitolina see Friedheim 1997; Belayche 2001; Peleg-Barkat 2013, and references there.

the Capitoline triad and can be identified with the temple mentioned by Cassius Dio.[136] The coin attests to the existence of a Capitolium Temple in Aelia Capitolina, but does not contribute any information about the site of this temple.

The Historical Sources[137]

One of the main historical sources regarding the Capitolium Temple in Aelia Capitolina is Cassius Dio's text (*Roman History* 69.12.1). Scholars disagree on how to interpret the term *topos* in this text: "… and on the site of the temple of God he [Hadrian] raised a new temple to Jupiter."[138] Does this mean that the Temple of Jupiter was built in the exact location of the Jewish temple on the Temple Mount? If so, the Temple Mount must have held a very central place in the Roman city, with the Capitoline Temple built on top of it.[139] Another interpretation suggests a different reading: "… and instead of the temple of God he [Hadrian] raised a new temple to Jupiter,"[140] implying that Hadrian built a temple to Jupiter somewhere else in Aelia Capitolina, but not necessarily on the Temple Mount.[141]

In 333 CE, the Pilgrim of Bordeaux saw *aedes* (a sanctuary, shrine, or precinct) and "Two statues of Hadrian" on top of the Temple Mount (*It.Burd.*, 591; Wilkinson 1999:30, 591; *ONOMAS* pp. 192). The '*aedes*' was possibly part of the ruined Solomonic Temple that was still standing when the pilgrim visited the site.[142] But it is not improbable that this '*aedes*' was actually a later sanctuary that the traveler saw standing in the place where the Temple of Solomon used to be.

Evidence of the existence of a ruined temple on the Temple Mount during the reign of Emperor Julian (361–363 CE) is found in the texts of the Church Fathers Sozomenus, and Theodoretos.[143] According to them, after the emperor Julian gave his approval to rebuild the Jewish Temple on the Temple Mount,

---

136 Meshorer 1989:19, 22, note 32, 70–71, Cat. No. 1.

137 The historical sources discussing the Temple Mount after the year 70 CE have been discussed extensively in the research literature; see, for example, Tsafrir 2009:77–83; Newman 2014; Isaac 2010:18–26, *inter alia*. The following is a brief summary, citing the sources and referring to the studies that have been carried out.

138 Trans. Stern 1980:392.

139 This was the opinion of the early researchers of Jerusalem and it is still accepted by many today: Germer-Durand 1892:373; Vincent and Abel 1914–1926: Plan 1; Geva 1993, Weksler-Bdolah 2015.

140 Trans. Isaac 2010 18.

141 Bowersock 1980 137–138; Isaac 2010:20; Murphy-O'Connor 1994, 1997; Tsafrir 2009:80.

142 Tsafrir 2009:84.

143 Sozomenus, V, 22 (*PG* LXVII, c. 1285); Theodoretos, III, 20 (*GCS*, 19, p. 199). For discussion, see Avi-Yonah 1962:173; Tsafrir 2009:86–87.

the Jews started destroying the foundations of a building identified by most researchers as the Jewish Temple. It seems more reasonable, however, that the Jews would have demolished the remains of a pagan sanctuary rather than the remains of the Herodian temple that would have helped them rebuild their own temple.[144] In the opinion of Avi Yonah, the Temple of Hadrian, which was built on the Temple Mount, was abandoned during the reign of Constantine, but it cannot be assumed that its remains disappeared completely and the Jews apparently began their work by removing the remains of the pagan temple.[145] However, it is hard to believe that the emperor Julian would have permitted the destruction of the remains of a pagan sanctuary, to be replaced by a Jewish temple, and the fact that Julian gave permission to build a Jewish temple on the spot may show that there was no pagan temple there at the time.[146]

In the late fourth–early fifth century, Jerome records a statue of Jupiter and a statue of Hadrian on horseback that stood on the Temple Mount, on the site of the ruined Jewish temple (Jerome, *Commentary on Matthew* 23.15).[147] Indirect evidence of the existence of the Temple of Jupiter on the Temple Mount may be found in two Christian testimonies of the seventh century, in which the Temple Mount is known as the Capitolium. One testimony preserved in Georgian is attributed to the Byzantine monk John Moschus in his book *Pratum spirituale* and in the second testimony, preserved in Greek, the memoirs of a monk living on the Mount of Olives are listed. In the opinion of Flusin and Mango,[148] these testimonies—in which the Capitolium is mentioned in passing—indicate that in the seventh century the Temple Mount was known by this name, which probably preserved the memory of the Hadrianic Temple of Jupiter. According to another view, since this name is not mentioned in the Christian sources before the seventh century, it is not impossible that the identification of the Temple Mount with the Roman Capitolium was first developed at the end of the Byzantine or Muslim periods.[149]

The testimonies listed above allow us to reconstruct some sort of a cultic place—a temple, a sanctuary, or an open place of worship where imperial statues were placed—that stood on top of the Temple Mount during the Roman period.[150] Most of those who support this possibility suggest it was con-

144 Avi-Yonah 1946:142–143; Mango 1992:3.

145 Wilkinson was also of the opinion that the Hadrianic Capitoline Temple was probably demolished by Constantine (Wilkinson 1999:30, note 2).

146 I thank the anonymous reader of the manuscript for making this convincing argument.

147 Murphy-O'Connor 1994:408; Tsafrir 2009:80–81.

148 Flusin 1992:17–26; Mango 1992:1–3.

149 Tsafrir 2009: 82, note 34; Eliav 2005:91–92.

150 Tsafrir 1999a:157, 2009:88–94.

structed on the site of the Jewish temple.[151] Another theory proposes locating it in the southern part of the Temple Mount, where the Al-Aqsa Mosque was later built.[152] E. Mazar suggested that the Temple Mount, with the Temple of Jupiter, was part of the area covered by the Tenth Legion Fretensis's garrison.[153] An alternative view is that the Temple Mount remained abandoned during the Roman period and was not even considered an integral part of the city, although most scholars do not subscribe to this proposal.[154]

The Archaeological Evidence

As no significant archaeological excavations have been conducted within the Temple Mount's compound, the question of the site of the Capitoline temple remains unresolved at this stage, but it is worth mentioning the following:

The importance of the Temple Mount within the Roman urban layout is clearly reflected in the archaeological finds. The remains of the Great Causeway indicate that the ruined Temple Mount was accessed from the army camp via a narrow bridge even before the establishment of Aelia Capitolina and that the narrow bridge was widened to support a main street immediately after the foundation of the Roman city. This street, identified as the Decumanus, led directly to the Temple Mount, indicating the importance of the Temple Mount in the Roman city. To this we must add an examination of the external walls of the Temple Mount, and their renovation following their destruction in the year 70 CE. Some original Herodian entrance gates were also repaired at that time. A short description of the walls follows below.[155]

Warren and Conder described five types of building stones in the external faces of the Southern and Western Walls of the Temple Mount.[156] Type 1 in their terminology refers to the original building blocks, now known as 'Herodian'. These are large stones with marginal drafts (length 2–4 m, width 0.8 m–1 m, average height 1 m; Fig. 69). Type 2 consists of large, plain dressed stones, although sometimes very delicate margins can be discerned (length 1.2–1.6 m, width 0.6–0.8 m, average height 0.8–1.8 m). Their faces were worked with a multi-toothed comb that left traces of 'wild' combing on the stone surface. Stones of Type 2 are always set alongside or above the original Hero-

151 Avi-Yonah 1946:143; Tsafrir 2009:83.
152 Mango 1992:3.
153 Mazar E. 1999:59–60, 2011a:1–2, Fig. 1.1.
154 Eliav 1997 131–133, 2005:107–124.
155 For a comprehensive study of the walls of the Temple Mount see Mazar 2011b.
156 Warren and Conder 1884:175.

FIGURE 69 Stones, commonly referred to as Herodian, on the southern wall of the Temple Mount, next to the southeastern corner
PHOTO: S. WEKSLER-BDOLAH

dian courses in the walls of the Temple Mount.[157] In many places they complement the damaged Herodian courses and they are therefore clearly dated as being later than 70 CE. Stones of Type 2 are likely to be associated with the earliest restoration of the Temple Mount after the destruction of the year 70 CE. Their homogenous appearance and primary use indicate that they were specifically designed to restore the walls of the Temple Mount (Fig. 70). The preparation of the large quantities of stone required for the restoration of the Temple Mount walls shows that this was a public initiative. The similarity of the stones and the minimal use of *spolia* in the repaired courses differ considerably from the Umayyad method of construction visible in the Umayyad Palaces around the Temple Mount, where several Herodian stones were incorporated together with columns and architectural items that probably origi-

157 In the Southern Wall of the Temple Mount Type 2 stones were used to repair a large breach in the wall, c. 20–80 m east of the southwestern corner of the Temple Mount, and they were uniformly leveled with the highest Herodian courses preserved to the west of the breach. In the Western Wall of the Temple Mount, four to five courses of Type 2 stones are found high above the Herodian courses of the portion of the wall known as the 'Wailing Wall'. Courses of Type 2 stones are also found to the north and south of Warren's Gate (described below); two courses of Type 2 stones are integrated in the upper parts of the Western Wall, c. 15–35 m north of the Iron Gate (*Bab el-Hadid*) and a single course of Type 2 stones is preserved above the Herodian stones in the northern part of the Western Wall.

FIGURE 70 Stones of Type 2, above Herodian stones, in the Western Wall of the Temple Mount, looking east
PHOTO: S. WEKSLER-BDOLAH

nated in ruins of Byzantine buildings.[158] Warren and Conder dated the stones of Type 2 to the Roman–Byzantine periods, between Hadrian and Justinian, namely between the second and the sixth centuries. B. Mazar and Ben-Dov suggested that the Southern Wall of the Temple Mount was breached during the

158 Ben-Dov 1985:317–319.

Persian conquest of Jerusalem in 614 CE and was rebuilt with stones of Type 2 in the Umayyad period, between the seventh and the eighth centuries, and this date is also accepted by Mazar, Shalev and Reuven.[159] In the author's opinion, as will be suggested below, the restoration of the walls of the Temple Mount with Type 2 stones occurred in the Roman period.

Above the leveled courses of Types 1 and 2 stones, courses of medium-sized dressed stones are visible (c. 0.6–1.0 m long, 0.4 m wide, and 0.4 m high), identified as Type 3 by Warren and Conder. Type 3 was attributed by Warren and Conder to between the sixth and the eighth centuries CE and by Ben-Dov and Mazar to the Umayyad period.[160]

The archaeological finds suggest that the restoration of the walls of the Temple Mount with Type 2 stones occurred between 70 CE and the Umayyad period. This is based on the fact that stones of Type 2 are overlaid by the 'Umayyad' stones of Type 3, as well as on the remains of an Umayyad street pavement at the foot of the Southern Wall of the Temple Mount that abuts a course of Type 2 stones in the Southern Wall. The Umayyad street indicates that the restoration of the Temple Mount with Type 2 stones occurred no later than the Umayyad period.[161] Some gates of the Herodian enclosure were rehabilitated using stones of Type 2 in their door jambs, above the Herodian stones.[162]

It is therefore probable that the restoration of the external walls of the Temple Mount did indeed occur in the Roman or the Byzantine periods, as previously suggested by Warren and Conder. Within this time gap, the Roman period is preferable (in my view) due to the archaeological finds listed above. A new gate that may have been inserted in the northern part of the Western Wall of the Temple Mount during the Roman period is the Council Gate (Arabic: *Bab al-Majlis, Bab an-Nazir*).[163]

The significance of the Temple Mount in the urban layout hints at the nature of the structure that stood on top of it and in keeping with the historical source it is likely, in the author's opinion, that Hadrian did indeed built a temple to Jupiter in or near the site of the Jewish temple on the Temple Mount. Among the reasons that may have affected Hadrian's decision to establish the Capito-

159 Mazar 1969:6; Ben-Dov 1973:76; Mazar, Shalev and Reuven 2011: The Southern Wall and the Western Wall, Chronological Maps. Mazar, Shalev and Reuven do not name these stones Type 2.

160 Warren and Conder 1884:175; Ben-Dov 1973:78–79.

161 Mazar 1969:5–6.

162 For detailed discussion and references to the reconstruction of the Double Gate in the Southern Wall and Warren's Gate in the Western Wall, see Weksler-Bdolah 2014c.

163 Burgoyne (1992:113) suggested dating the original phase of the gate to the Roman period and Wilkinson (1975:134, Fig. 12) portrays the street leading to the gate as Hadrianic.

FIGURE 71 Statue base with a Latin inscription for Emperor Antoninus Pius, 138 CE. Incorporated in a secondary use in the Southern Wall of the Temple Mount, above the eastern entrance of the Double Gate
CIIP 1.2, 718, FIG. 718.1; COURTESY OF WERNER ECK

line Temple on the Temple Mount were its prominent, strategic location and the recognition of the Temple Mount as a holy site, as discussed above.

The cult of the Roman emperor was probably also practiced on the Temple Mount, as can be deduced from the historic sources. The Bordeaux Pilgrim noted the presence of two statues of Hadrian on the Temple Mount and Jerome saw a statue of Jupiter and a statue of Hadrian on horseback standing on the Temple Mount, on the site of the ruined Jewish temple (above). A fragment of a Latin inscription bearing the name Antoninus Pius, which is now incorporated upside down above the Double Gate in the Southern Wall of the Temple Mount,[164] probably originally belonged to the statue of this emperor that stood in the Temple Mount compound in Roman times (Fig. 71). Vincent and Abel's proposal that the second statue observed by the Bordeaux Pilgrim on the Temple Mount was that of Antoninus Pius, not of Hadrian, is certainly plausible.[165]

The Temple of Venus/Aphrodite

Another temple mentioned in the historical sources is the Temple of Venus/Aphrodite, which was located on the site where the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was built. Eusebius relates that this temple was destroyed on the order of Constantine when the tomb of Jesus was revealed beneath it and the emperor commanded that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre be constructed over the tomb. In the fifth century, Sozomenos added that the goddess's sculpture stood

164 *CIIP* 1.2, 718.
165 Vincent and Abel 1914–1926:887.

inside the temple.[166] According to Jerome, a sculpture of Venus/Aphrodite was erected on the Hill of Golgotha, near the tomb of Jesus.[167] As noted above, Eusebius's polemic description of the deliberate fill which the Romans heaped up over Jesus's tomb with the intent of concealing it and the paving of the elevated surface before erecting a temple to Venus on it are consistent with the infrastructure work on the new Roman city documented along the Eastern Cardo. There too, the existing topography was leveled and altered by intentionally filling in areas with soil from nearby locations.

In the late nineteenth century, when the Russian Alexander Nevsky Hostel was being built to the east of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, walls forming the corner of a monumental building were discovered. Most scholars attribute these to the compound of buildings that existed north of the Roman forum (see above, municipal forum). Sections of parallel walls were exposed beneath the floor of the *katholikon* and the northern and southern vestibules of the rotunda in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the 1960s and 1970s. Corobo identified the remains as part of a Roman temple with three cells, and suggested identifying it with the Capitolium of Aelia Capitolina, the *trikamaron* (triple-vaulted structure) mentioned in the *Chronicon Paschale*. Coüasnon, in contrast, interpreted these remains as being part of the Constantinian church.[168] An underground vault measuring c. 4 × 10 m was discovered beneath the floor of the rotunda, north of the sepulchre. It is built of stones with marginal drafting and a flat boss. Corbo identified it as a *favissa* (cache site for religious objects that were no longer in use) in the Roman temple. South of the *cella* walls and c. 20 m from them, two sections of the northern wall of the large cistern under the *parvis* were exposed. The wall, which was preserved to a considerable height, is built of large stones with marginal drafting and flat bosses. In Corbo's opinion, this is a remnant of the Hadrianic *temenos*, whose southeast corner is positioned at the corner of the monumental structure found in the Russian hostel. Since the corner of the substantial building and the wall in the water reservoir are not constructed in the same style and are not directly aligned, some interpret the remains as belonging to two buildings: A Roman temple in the west, over which the rotunda was built, and a civilian basilica in the east, on which the basilica of Constantine was built at a later date.

Corbo reconstructed six columns on the façade of the Roman temple, similar to the Temple of Tyche shown on a coin of Antoninus Pius (138–161) from Aelia

166 Eus. *Vita Const.*, Cameron and Hall 1999, III, 26; *Soz. HE*, II:1, 3.

167 Hieronymus, *Epistolae*, 58, 3. In I. Hilberg ed. *CSEL*, 54, Vienna 1910–1918, pp. 531–532.

168 See Corbo 1981–1982; Coüasnon 1974. For summaries and references, see Geva 1993:685–686; Patrich 2016:141–143.

FIGURE 72 Coin of Aelia Capitolina minted by Antoninus Pius. Obverse: Bust of Antoninus Pius; Reverse: Hexastyle Temple with central arch; Within: Tyche-Astarte standing MESHORER 1989: CAT. NO. 10–11; PHOTO: YAIR HOVAV, COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL MUSEUM, JERUSALEM

Capitolina (Fig. 72).[169] The Roman temple (estimated dimensions 37 × 41.5 m) stood in his opinion on the raised *temenos* and was accessed from the Cardo on the east side via a wide stepped entrance. Others believe that the temple was circular and that its form has been retained in the rotunda built over Jesus's tomb. As for the cult of Venus/Aphrodite in Aelia Capitolina, it should be added that the evidence for its existence is mainly historical, since it does not appear on city coins and no related sculptures or dedicatory inscriptions have yet been discovered.

In the Syrian-Phoenician region, Venus/Aphrodite was often identified with Tyche, the goddess of the city, and the figure of Tyche appears on 40 percent of the city coins as protector of the city—often wearing the city crown and sometimes with the Tenth Legion's standards. It has therefore been suggested that the inhabitants of Aelia Capitolina, most of whom came from Syrian lands, had syncretized worship of the city goddess with that of the Greco-Roman goddess (Fig. 72).[170]

169 Meshorer 1989: Cat. Nos. 10, 11.
170 Meshorer 1989:24–25, 1999:24–25; Belayche 2001:148–154, *inter alia*.

The Cult of Serapis/Asclepius near the Pool of Bethesda

Another place of worship was located north of the Via Dolorosa, evidently one of the main thoroughfares of Aelia Capitolina, some 150 m inside the eastern gate of the city and within the grounds of Saint Anne's church today.[171] According to the Gospels, Jesus cured the paralytic next to the pools of Bethesda (John 5:1–18), which have been unearthed at this site. The remains of related structures and water installations were discovered around the pools, as well as fragments of votive offerings, such as a marble foot inscribed with a Greek inscription by a woman named Pompeia Lucilia, (*CIIP* 1.2, 709) and two relief fragments of an *aedicule* or shrine. In the center of the *aedicule* stood a figure and next to it a serpent, the symbol of Asclepius. An accepted reconstruction suggests that the figure in the center represented the god Serapis. The votive offerings indicate the therapeutic nature of the site. Worth mentioning in this regard is a Latin dedicatory inscription to Jupiter Serapis found in the Old City of Jerusalem. The inscription was incorporated in secondary use in the Ottoman city wall east of the Zion Gate. The inscription, dated 116/117 CE, was placed by a unit of the Third Legion Cyrenaica in honor of the victory of Emperor Trajan. It testifies to the worship of Jupiter Serapis in Jerusalem even before the establishment of Aelia Capitolina (*CIIP* 1.2, 705).

Evidence for the cults of other gods, including Dionysus and possibly Mithras, is provided by small finds including reliefs and ornamentation on pottery, coins, and *gemmae* (engraved gemstones set in rings).[172]

Public Buildings in the Southeast of the City

Southwest of the Temple Mount, in an area of about two hectares located between the Temple Mount and the Eastern Cardo and south of the Great Causeway, several large public buildings have been discovered in recent years, including latrines, a bathhouse, a bakery and other structures. The remains enable the reconstruction of an orthogonal array of streets and roads extending along the axis of the western wall of the Temple Mount with large public buildings between them (Fig. 73).

Immediately south of the Great Causeway, beneath the *Mahkame* building (the Al-Tankiziyya *madrassa*), a Roman period structure (second–third century CE) was partially unearthed (Fig. 73:4). The rectangular building (8.5 × 18 m with preserved walls over 10 m high) probably had a second floor. A latrine was

171 Belayche 2001:160–167; Gibson 2008, 2011 22–29; Peleg-Barkat 2013:54, and references there.

172 See Peleg-Barkat 2013, Magness 2003; Rosenthal-Heginbottom 2015, 2017.

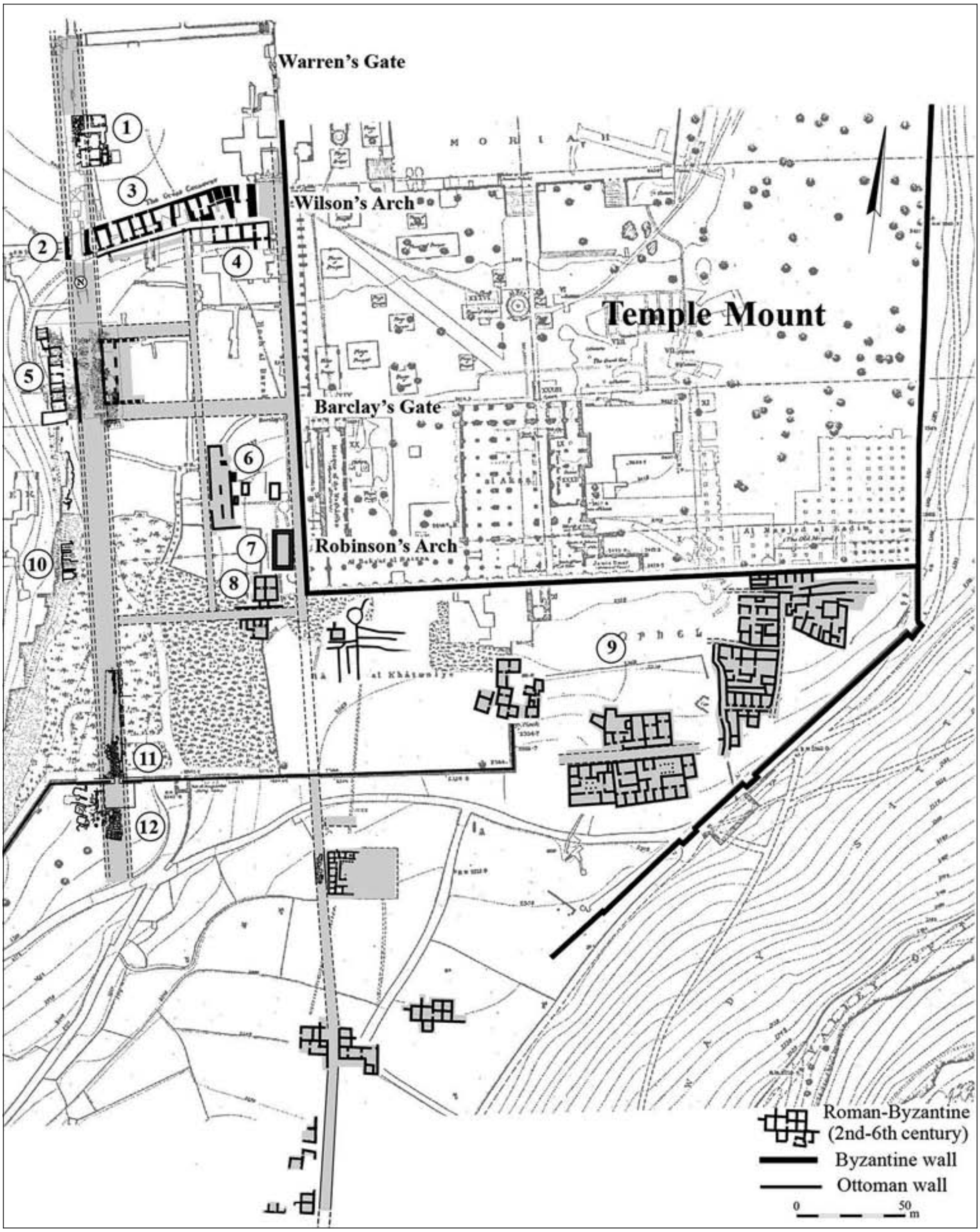

FIGURE 73 Southeastern Jerusalem: Remains of the Roman and Byzantine periods
AFTER: WARREN 1881–1884: PL. V; CROWFOOT AND FITZGERALD 1929: PL. 22; GORDON 2007: FIG. 1, GORDON 2007: FIG. 18.3; BARUCH AND WEISS 2009; WEKSLER-BDOLAH 2014C, ONN AND WEKSLER-BDOLAH 2017, BEN-AMI AND TCHEKHANOVETS 2010 (DRAWING: NATALYA ZAK; COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY)

installed on the ground floor.[173] Its remains include deep drainage channels installed along the inner side of three of its walls. These would have had seats above them, which have not been preserved. Stone slabs with a shallow channel hewn in the center were discovered along the deep drainage channels, facing the center of the room. In the late third or fourth centuries CE (after 275 CE), a larger building was constructed above the latrine (Fig. 73:4) and the latrine area was divided into several small square rooms. The building evidently had a row of five or six square rooms in its northern part, two of which were excavated.

West of the latrine building (Fig. 73:4), the northern wall of another large building is visible along approximately 40 m, extending as far as the eastern portico of the Eastern Cardo. Excavations conducted recently inside this building uncovered some of its walls and an impressive arch in its western part.[174] The walls and arch are built of smooth-faced ashlars. The excavation did not reach the level of the original floor, estimated to have been laid in the Roman or Early Byzantine period. Two stones engraved with Latin inscriptions were re-used in the walls of this building as building blocks. On the external, north face of the northern wall is a stone engraved with '*FRET*', indicating the Tenth Legion Fretensis,[175] and on the inner, eastern face of the external western wall of the structure is the inscription '*NOPRAE*', which has been attributed to the Second Temple period.[176]

The entrance structure (*propylaeum*) of another public building in this area, located east of the Eastern Cardo has so far only been partially exposed (Fig. 73:5, east side). The entrance structure was built in the area of the Eastern Cardo's eastern portico and was exposed during the Western Wall Plaza excavations. It lies between two streets 30 m apart leading off the Cardo to the east. Remnants of this entrance building are a heart-shaped corner plinth and probably also the Corinthian capitals found incorporated in secondary use in the walls of later buildings within the excavation area. There is no estimate for the size of the building, but in view of the large ornamental entrance it must have been substantial.[177]

South of the *propylaeum* and further east, nearer to the Temple Mount, excavations by B. Mazar, followed by Baruch and Reich and most recently by H. Barbé, discovered remains of a large bathhouse that was built in the

---

173 Bahat 2013:169, Plan 6.06; 174, Fig. 6.21; Onn, Weksler-Bdolah and Bar Nathan 2011.
174 Gendelman and Chalaf 2016:117–123, Stratum VIII.
175 *CIIP* 1.2, 725; Bahat 2013:43.
176 Gendelman and Chalaf 2015.
177 Weksler-Bdolah 2014b:46–48, 2014c:198.

Roman period and was still in use in the Byzantine period (Fig. 73:6).[178] The bathhouse covered an area of at least 40×50 m. Its east part was founded over a collapse of large ashlars that had accumulated at the foot of the Temple Mount in the destruction of 70 CE and its west part was founded on the slopes of the southwestern hill, c. 40 m west of the Temple Mount. Remains of a large latrine that was added to the bath complex at the beginning of the Byzantine period were discovered southeast of and adjacent to the bathhouse (Fig. 73:7).[179]

South of the pier of Robinson's Arch, a building containing ovens was unearthed and identified as a military bakery (Fig. 73:8).[180] The core of the building consists of four rooms arranged in two rows. A set of ovens that had been installed on the floor of the building and a seal engraved with the Latin word '*PRIM*', which was discovered near the ovens and recognized as a bread stamp, led the researchers to identify the structure as a bakery.[181] Since the ovens were paved with fragments of roof tiles and bricks, many of which were stamped with the name of the Tenth Legion, the building was identified as a military bakery in the legion's camp.

The cluster of buildings described above (Fig. 73:4–8) constitutes the largest group of Roman-period public buildings known to date in Jerusalem. Relying on the plan of the bathhouse and the high frequency of building materials stamped with the seal of the Tenth Legion Fretensis that are incorporated in the structures, Mazar, Stiebel and Reuven noted the military character of the buildings and proposed identifying the area as being part of the Roman military camp. In my opinion, however, these structures should not necessarily be identified as military facilities, although the possibility does exist. The urban street network (the Cardo and the Decumanus) delineates and defines the given area while also providing direct, uninterrupted access to it. Thus, this orthogonal planned quarter, an integral part of the Roman city, could very well be a civilian quarter.[182]

178 Mazar 2011a 11–84 and references there.

179 Mazar 2011a:30–37.

180 Mazar 2011a 145–183 and references there.

181 Mazar 2011a 178–179; Stiebel 2011.

182 Coins discovered beneath the floor of the bakery, near the pier of Robinson's Arch, date the structure to the late second century CE or later. In the bedding of similar ovens that were recently discovered beneath the arches of the Great Causeway, west of Wilson's Arch, coins from the third century were discovered (Onn and Weksler-Bdolah 2017). These findings may attest (in my opinion), to daily life and industrial activity that took place in the southern part of the city, west of the Temple Mount in the second and third centuries. The identity of the people who were operating these ovens is unknown and it is impossible to

Private Dwellings

The residential buildings that have so far been recognized lay outside the limits of Aelia Capitolina. Remains include dozens of relatively large courtyard houses located to the south of the Temple Mount, in the Ophel, in the City of David (southeastern hill, toward the Pool of Siloam), and on the lower slopes of Mount Zion.[183] Inside Aelia Capitolina (within the Old City of Jerusalem at present), no private dwellings of the Roman period have yet been discovered. This is all the more surprising since apart from the garrisoned soldiers, civilians certainly lived in Aelia Capitolina, as is shown by the remains of the city's cemeteries (*necropoleis*) where tombs identified as family tombs, tombstones and skeletal remains attest to presence of women and children in the city (below). It is therefore apparent that the absence of archaeological evidence for private dwellings stems from the limited number of scientific excavations and is not for lack of a civilian population, as suggested.[184] The historical sources recording the founding of the Roman colony of Aelia Capitolina and the rights granted to its residents, together with the archaeological and epigraphic evidence provide concrete proof of the existence of a civilian population in the city.

A sole remnant that can cautiously be suggested to have been part of a private residence from the era of Aelia Capitolina was recently discovered in the north of the city, within the Austrian Hospice compound c. 20 m north of the Via Dolorosa and c. 100 m east of HaGai/El-Wad Street (see Fig. 63, left side). Excavations exposed the corner of a large peristyle-type building with a courtyard surrounded by rooms, three of which were discovered—two rectangular units, whose ceilings probably rested on arches, parts of which were discovered, and another unit, perpendicular to these two. Only the tops of the walls were exposed and the nature of the building cannot be defined with any certainty. However, the accumulated fill inside the rooms indicates that the building was abandoned in the fourth century. It is therefore likely that it was built in this century at the latest, and possibly earlier.[185]

---

prove or rule out the possibility that these were soldiers of the Tenth Legion. Similarly, it is not possible to determine whether this was the site of the Tenth Legion camp, or an ordinary civilian quarter.

183 For the remains, see Gordon 2007; Ben-Ami and Tchekhnovets 2013; Crowfoot and Fitzgerald 1929:41–43; Macalister and Duncan 1926:105–111, *inter alia*.

184 Seligman 2017 109, 114.

185 Kisilevitz and Greenwald 2012:143–144.

CHAPTER 4

Aelia Capitolina in the Fourth Century

The legalization of Christianity in the early fourth century and the subsequent Christianization of Jerusalem by the emperor Constantine (in 324 CE) significantly changed the status of Jerusalem and affected its urban topography.[1] The city, now named Aelia or known by its former name, Jerusalem/Hierosolyma, became a destination for Christian pilgrimage. Churches and monasteries were built around the city, commemorating events related to Christ and at the same time occupying sites with strategic locations inside and outside the city. The population grew and the settled urban zone expanded to the south, beyond the limits of the Hadrianic city. The spoken and written language was now Greek. Armenian, Georgian and Hebrew inscriptions of the fifth and sixth centuries indicate the presence of various religious communities within the city's domain.[2]

In around 400–450 CE the city was surrounded by a new, wide-perimeter city wall that is also depicted on the Madaba mosaic. The limits of Aelia/Hierosolyma united the area of Aelia Capitolina, together with the 'legionary territory' (the former camp of the Tenth Legion on the southwestern hill), that was now called Zion, and the southeastern hill (known today as the City of David and the Ophel). The transition of Jerusalem from a pagan Roman city in the second and third centuries to a Christian city lasted for the entire fourth century. A severe earthquake on 19 May 363 CE, may have precipitated a rapid change thereafter.[3]

The Expansion of the City's Limits

In the first half of the fourth century the city began expanding to the south, beyond its former limits (Fig. 74). More than ten courtyard houses were exposed in the Ophel excavations to the south of the Temple Mount (Fig. 73:9).[4] Most

1 For the topography and archaeology of Aelia in the Byzantine period (fourth–seventh centuries CE), see Vincent and Abel 1914–1926, Tsafrir 1999b, Geva 1993:768–785, *inter alia*. For a discussion of the historical resources relating to the city, see Rubin 1999.

2 *CIIP* 1.2, 83–497, nos. 784–1120.

3 Brock 1976, 1977; Russell 1980, 1985; Amiran, Arieh and Turcotte 1994; Ambraseys 2009 148–151.

4 Mazar 2003, 2007a:3–22, 49–70, 99–112; Gordon 2007.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2020 | DOI:10.1163/9789004417076_005

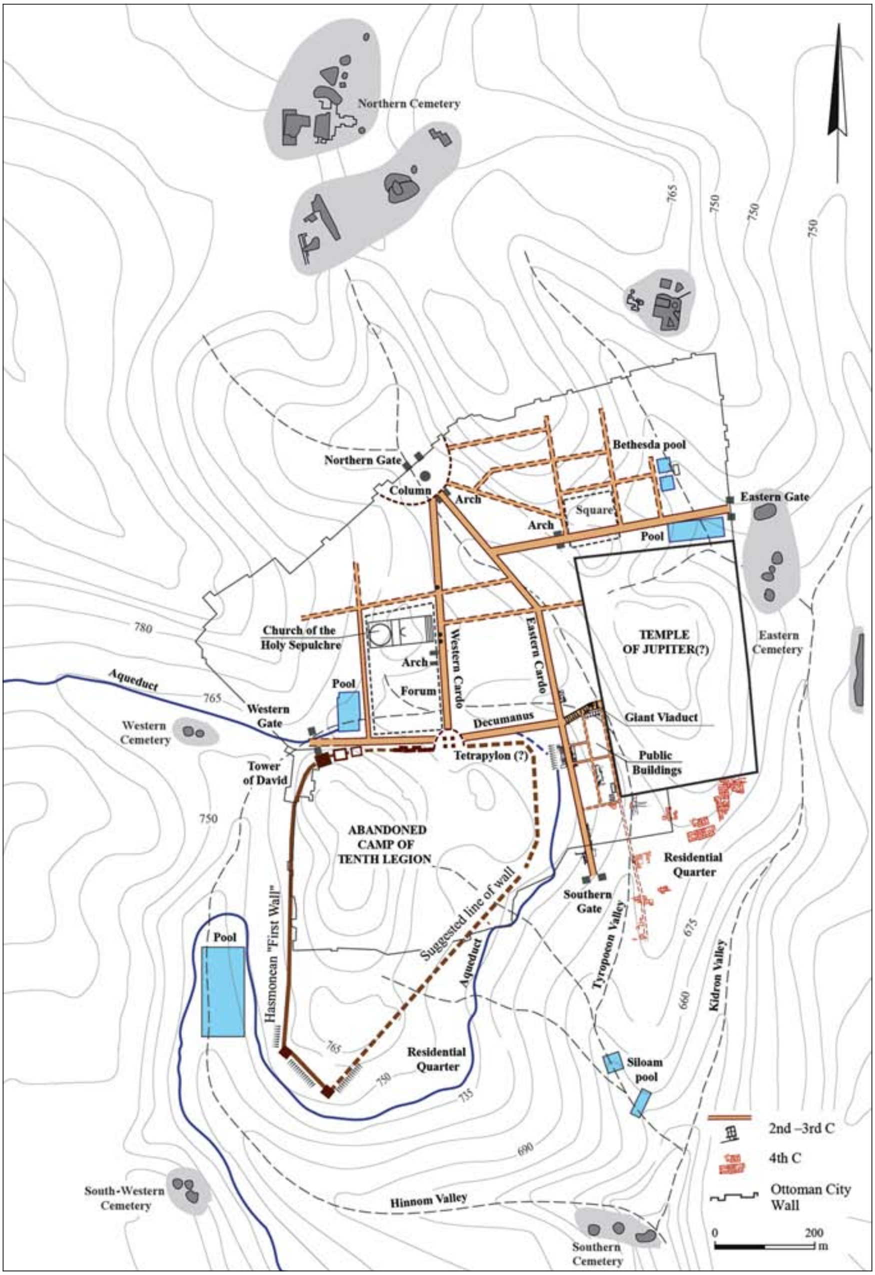

FIGURE 74 Aelia Capitolina in the mid-fourth century CE, author's suggestion. The legionary territory on the southwest hill is walled and mostly empty
DRAWING: NATALYA ZAK; COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

of the houses have square or rectangular plans (20–30 m long) with an open courtyard in the center (6–10 m long) that is sometimes flanked with porticoes. Several buildings had staircases leading to an upper floor. The buildings were classified as 'courtyard houses'[5] and dated to the fourth-century Constantinian age or slightly later in the Early Byzantine period.[6]

Several similar houses all sharing the same architectural plan were exposed in the City of David on the southeastern hill of Jerusalem.[7] Another large courtyard house (40 × 50 m) was recently excavated in the Givʿati parking lot, about 100–140 m south of the Temple Mount.[8] The findings in the Givʿati parking lot enable us to attribute the destruction of the building and its following abandonment to the severe earthquake that hit Jerusalem on the night of 19 May 363 CE.[9] The house was not restored following the earthquake.

Stone collapses and destruction layers attributed by the excavators to the same period were recognized in some of the houses that B. Mazar excavated in the Ophel area.[10] In the excavator's opinion, the destruction was possibly related to the effort of rebuilding the Jewish Temple during the reign of Emperor Julian, an effort accompanied by the demolition of the Christian buildings by the Jews.[11] Another proposal connects the destruction of the Ophel courtyard houses to the 363 CE earthquake.[12] Gordon and E. Mazar suggested that the eradication of some of the houses may have been related to the construction of the fifth-century Ophel wall that passes nearby (below).[13] Importantly, the residential quarter on the southeastern hill was not abandoned following its partial destruction in the 363 CE earthquake, but rather restored and reconstructed. Several new houses were built during the fifth and sixth centuries. The quarter existed until the Umayyad period, when buildings identified as palaces (Ben Dov 1971) or as an administrative complex were built on top of the courtyard houses.[14]

5 Terminology used by Hirschfeld 1995.
6 Ben-Dov 1985:213; Gordon 2007:212–214.
7 For example, Macalister and Duncan 1926 105–133; Crowfoot and Fitzgerald 1929:27–55, Pl. 22.
8 Ben-Ami and Tchekhanovets 2013, 2017.
9 Brock 1976, 1977; Russell 1980; Amiran, Arieh and Turcotte 1994; Ambraseys 2009 148–151.
10 Gordon 2007:213–214.
11 Mazar 1975:38.
12 Brock 1976:106, note 7; Russell 1980:56.
13 Gordon 2007:214; Mazar 2007: XII.
14 For example, the eighth-century Umayyad Building V was constructed on top of the northern part of the fourth-century, Early Byzantine peristyle house. See Mazar 2007:111.

The southeastern residential quarter reflects a process of spontaneous, organic growth in a typical Byzantine urban mode which has been described in the past as 'comfortable disorder'.[15] The buildings conformed to the axes of the Temple Mount, but were not aligned with any special care. Narrow streets or alleys approximately 1.5–2 m wide, usually paved with beaten earthen floors, not flagstones, separated the residential buildings. The lanes ran parallel or perpendicular to the southern wall of the Temple Mount, but they were neither perfectly straight nor uniform in width throughout their route, so that they actually wound between the buildings. They also had steps built along their route to overcome the significant drop in the bedrock when heading south. The alleys were adapted for pedestrians and livestock and were not intended for carts or wagons.

In contrast with the rapid occupation of the southeastern hill in the first half of the fourth century, the summit of the southwestern hill (now named 'Zion')—the area of the abandoned military camp—remained unoccupied (Fig. 74). Almost nothing new was built there during the fourth century and it was finally inhabited no earlier than the late fourth century and particularly during the fifth–sixth centuries (Figs. 75, 76).[16] A short summary of the archaeological finds follows.

In the Citadel, remains interpreted as monks' cells and hostels for pilgrims and dated to the fifth and sixth centuries were discovered.[17] In the Armenian Garden, the remains of structures and installations date mainly from the sixth–seventh centuries.[18] Segments of a mosaic floor consisting of two fields divided by a geometric border were assigned to a structure, possibly a chapel or a church, that was dated to the second or third quarters of the sixth century.[19] The upper field of the mosaic contains a group of animals in which a hare is preserved intact and the lower field bears a Greek inscription mentioning two persons: Basil (Basilios?) and Ba-, possibly Bassa.[20] It has been suggested that the chapel within the Armenian church of St. James be identified as the fifth- or sixth-century church of St. Menas.[21] The remains of the southern part of the Western Cardo of the city and the Nea church excavated in the Jewish Quarter

15 Tsafrir 1999b:298–299.

16 For summaries of the archaeological remains of the Byzantine period in the southwestern hill—the Armenian Quarter, the Jewish Quarter, and Mount Zion—see Tsafrir 1999b:303–321, 2012:256–260; Geva 1993:774–778; Gutfeld 2017.

17 Johns 1950:158–163; Amiran and Eitan 1970:15; Geva 2000a:163–164.

18 Tushingham 1985:65–87.

19 Tushingham 1985:66, Fig. 1; Campbell 1985; Jones 1985.

20 Jones 1985:89–90.

21 Vincent and Abel 1914–1926:518–558; Jones 1985:89.

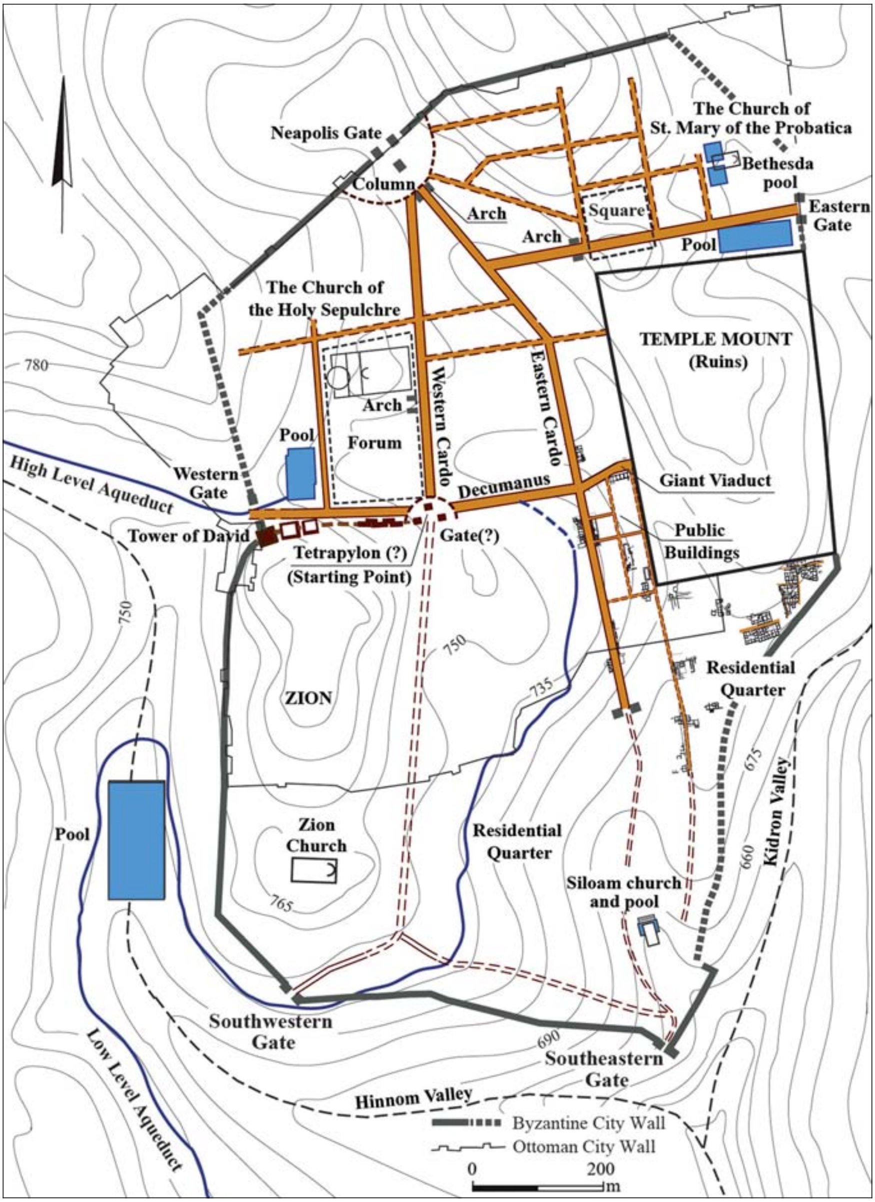

FIGURE 75 Aelia–Hierosolyma in the first half of the fifth century CE. Author's suggestion
DRAWING: NATALYA ZAK; COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

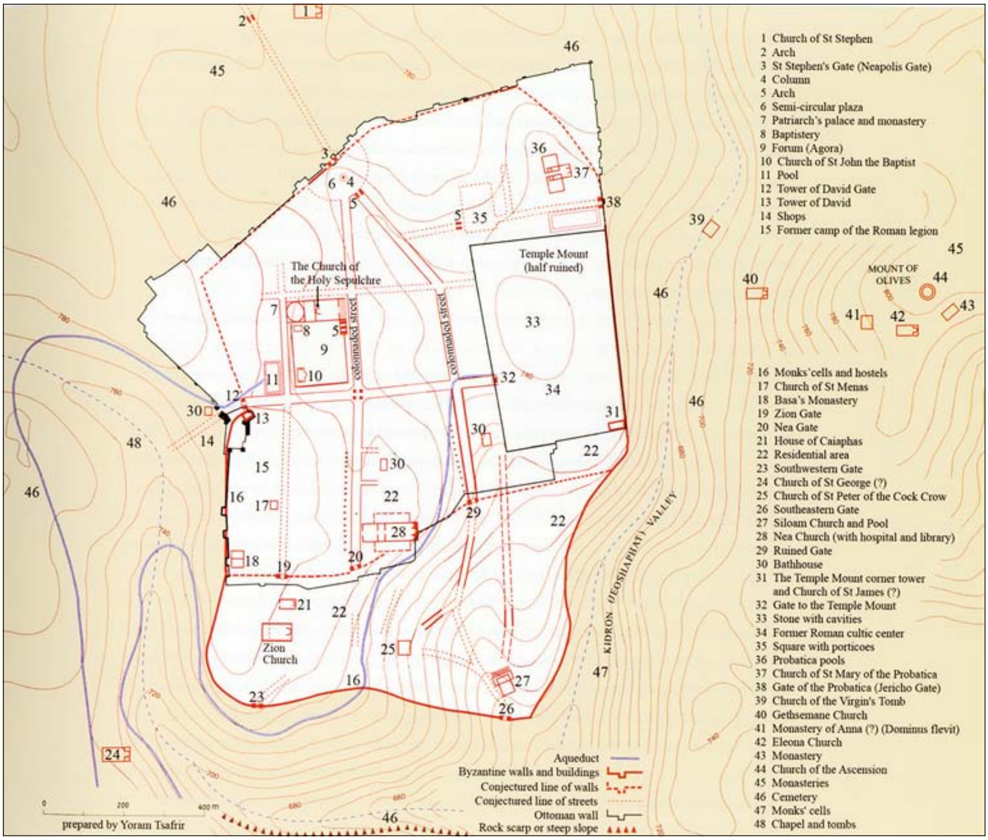

FIGURE 76 Map of Jerusalem in the Byzantine period
TSAFRIR 2009:95, FIG. 57

were both dated to the sixth century Justinianic Age.[22] On the southern summit of the southwestern hill (known today as Mount Zion) the church of Hagia Sion was constructed. According to the historical sources the construction was carried out in the second half of the fourth century. Trial excavations in the core of David's tomb enabled the structure to be dated to no earlier than the late fourth century.[23] Remains that were exposed north of the Church of Zion by Magen Broshi[24] were recognized as belonging to the church of the House of Caiaphas that was dated to the fifth century whereas further down the slope,

22 Avigad 1983:208–246; Gutfeld 2012.
23 Re'em 2013 239–240. For previous investigation, see Pinkerfeld 1960.
24 Broshi 1972:107.

below the church of St. Peter in Galicanto, remains of the fifth-century Byzantine church were unearthed.[25] Narrow streets of the fifth and sixth centuries were also discovered here.[26]

Relying on the archaeological finds, it may be suggested that the summit of the southwestern hill was left unoccupied during the first half of the fourth century and settled in the late fourth–fifth centuries and mainly in the sixth century CE. Interestingly, the *Bordeaux Itinerary* (dated to 333 CE) describes Zion as being surrounded by a wall, *murum Sion*,[27] and it has been reasonably proposed in the past that this wall could well refer to the wall of the legionary camp that still existed at that time.[28]

If the area of the abandoned military camp was indeed walled and mostly empty for so many years after its abandonment (50–60 years), it may be suggested that it was still a military territory forbidden for civilian use.

An example of an abandoned military camp left unoccupied for decades was exposed at Rapidum (Sour Djouab) in Mauritania (Algeria). A military camp of a cohort was founded there in the 120s CE and integrated within a civilian settlement a few decades later. The camp was enclosed within walls, forming a fortified quarter inside the city. Following the abandonment of the whole city, the camp was finally vacated in the mid-third century CE. However, when the city was resettled towards the late third century, the military camp was left unoccupied, still enclosed within its original walls.[29]

Another possible example is the site of the Roman VI Legion Ferrata's camp recently identified at Legio, at the foot of Tel Megiddo.[30] Here, too, the legionary territory of the campsite was left unoccupied following the soldiers' departure in the late third century and the civilian settlements next to it did not encroach on the abandoned camp. Neither did the large village of Kefar 'Otnay, which flourished beside the legionary camp, nor the city of Maximianopolis, founded shortly after the legionary headquarters were abandoned in the late third or early fourth century CE, south and west of Tel Megiddo (Tepper 2007:57). It may thus be suggested that the abandoned camp of the Legio VI Ferrata remained legionary territory for some decades after its abandonment.[31]

---

25 Germer-Durand 1914; Vincent and Abel 1914–1926:497–545; Tsafrir 1999b:316–317.

26 Gutfeld 2017.

27 *Itinerarium Burdigalense* 589–596, ed. Paul Geyer and Otto Cuntz, in *Itineraria et alia geographica*, CCSL 175 (Turnhout, 1965), pp. 14–18. Trans. and discussion Wilkinson 1999 22–34.

28 Hamilton 1952:86; Tsafrir 2012:250–251.

29 Le Bohec 1994:37, Pl. 38.

30 Tepper 2007; Tepper, David and Adams 2016.

31 My thanks to Yotam Tepper for the information and our fruitful discussions.

The Construction of a Wide-Circumference City Wall

The city wall depicted in the Madaba map was built in around 400–450 CE, encompassing the areas of the colony of Aelia Capitolina, the southwestern hill of Zion, and the southeastern hill (Figs. 2, 75).

Many segments of this wall are known today around the Old City of Jerusalem.[32] They were exposed underneath the courses of the present-day Ottoman Wall, in the north and the west (Figs. 77, 78), around Mount Zion in the south, and along the City of David and the Ophel in the east (Fig. 79). Several known segments are built in a similar technique characterized by ashlar courses laid on fieldstone foundations or directly on the bedrock. The lower courses had a 'stepped' layout, i.e., with recessing courses, so that the face of each course is slightly sunken in comparison to the course below it, while the upper courses of the wall were aligned vertically one above the other. Some blocks of the upper courses had been specifically made for the wall while others were reused Hasmonean or Herodian blocks that were recut to fit their location so that their faces now had margins only along two or three sides, not along all four sides. The use of such *spolia* characterizes late antique fortifications.[33]

The Madaba map sets a *terminus ante quem* for the wall's construction in the mid-sixth century CE. Archaeological finds suggest dating its construction to between the late third or early fourth century and the fifth century CE. Scholars disagree on whether the wall was built in one phase, during the Byzantine period, or in two phases, in the Roman and Byzantine periods.[34] However, all scholars agree that as late as the mid-fifth century CE, when the Empress Eudo-

32 Remains of the wall were exposed under the Ottoman wall on both sides of the Damascus Gate (Hamilton 1944; Turler, De Groot, and Solar 1979; Avni, Baruch, and Weksler-Bdolah 2001), near the western Jaffa Gate (Merill 1886, Sion and Puni 2011), under the courses of the western Ottoman wall near David's Tower in the Citadel (Johns 1950; Geva 1983), south of Jaffa Gate in the Armenian Garden (Tushingham 1985), and also around the slopes of Mount Zion (Bliss and Dickie 1898; Chen, Margalit, and Pixner 1994, and the recent excavation of Zelinger 2010) and on the Ophel (Warren and Conder 1884; Mazar 2007b). For a summary of the remains of the city wall in the Byzantine period, see Tsafrir 1999b:285–295; Geva 1993:770–772; Wightman 1993:209–222; Weksler-Bdolah 2006–2007, 2011b:419–421; *inter alia*.

33 Blagg 1983; Ward-Perkins 1984:206–207.

34 The southern sections of the wall are usually attributed to Empress Eudocia, who resided in Jerusalem in the mid-fifth century and, according to the historical sources, reconstructed the walls of Jerusalem (Wightman 1993 209–222; Tsafrir 1999b:285–295). Other suggestions have attributed the construction of the whole perimeter city wall—its northern and southern parts alike—to either the Constantinian Age (Geva 1993:770–772) or to around 400 CE (Weksler-Bdolah 2006–2007).

FIGURE 77A
Northern line of Wall: Inner (southern) face of the northern line of the Roman–Byzantine city wall, east of Herod's Gate
PHOTO: ALEXANDER [SANDO] MANDREA; COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

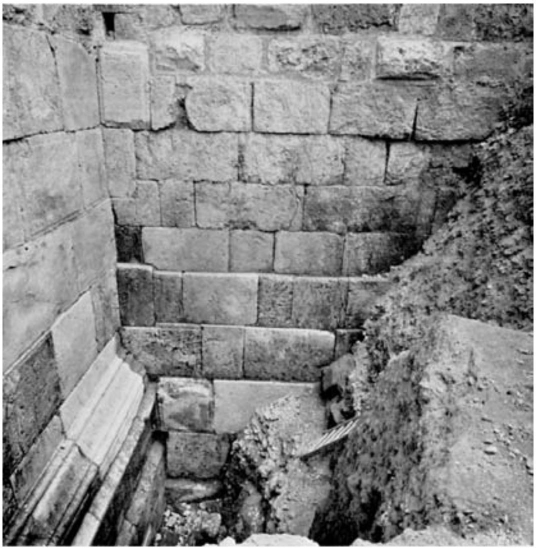

FIGURE 77B
Northern line of Wall: North wall abutting Western Damascus Gate Tower, Hamilton 1944 section A
HAMILTON 1944: PL. 1.1

FIGURE 78
Roman–Byzantine city wall abutting Phasael Tower
DAVID'S TOWER IN THE CITADEL; JOHNS 1950: PLATE XLVIII 1, 2

cia resided in Jerusalem, the entire circuit of the city was surrounded by a wide-circumference wall. Construction of the wall completed the physical growth of the city *intra muros*.

The Identity of the Population

Finds unearthed in the Givʿati parking lot's courtyard house shed light on other aspects of the identity of its inhabitants shortly before its destruction in the 363 CE earthquake.[35] The finds were described and discussed by the excavators and are summarized here. A few fragments of wall plaster carrying graffiti indicate that the people residing or visiting the house were familiar with early Christian symbols.[36] On one fragment a Christogram was inscribed combin-

35 Ben-Ami and Tchekhanovets 2013; Tchekhanovets 2014, *inter alia*.
36 Tchekhanovets 2014:79–80.

FIGURE 79 The Ophel Wall. Inner face, looking northeast
MAZAR 2007B:191, FIG. 17.14; COURTESY OF E. MAZAR

ing the Greek letters chi and rho, symbolizing XPICTOC (Christ); inscribed on another fragment were the beginning of a Greek inscription meaning 'lord' and a symbol of an anchor—both distinctive of early Christianity. The style and Christian theme of these pieces resemble a graffito of a cross with birds on its sides revealed in a fourth-century courtyard house in the Ophel.[37]

A special find which reflects faith in magic is a lead plaque that was recovered rolled. It was engraved with a Greek curse. A woman named Kyrilla wished to cast a spell on a man named Yanis.[38] Another 'magic' find is a Greek graffito with the first six letters of the Greek alphabet, intended to protect the occupants of the house.[39]

37 Adler 2007.
38 Tchekhanovets 2014:78–79.
39 Tchekhanovets 2014:78.

The dozens of jaws of young domesticated pigs thrown into a cistern in the Givʿati courtyard may reflect, in the excavators' opinion, public worship. The pigs were sacrificed shortly before the house was destroyed.[40]

It is thus evident that the inhabitants of the Givʿati house continued to practice pagan cults during the fourth century. Paganism was still allowed before the Theodosian ban and its practice was even encouraged during Emperor Julian's reign.[41]

Another distinctive fourth-century feature is the increasing use of the Greek language. During the Roman period, Latin was the official language used by both the military and civilians, although many were of Greek origin. Indeed, the majority of the currently known inscriptions in Aelia Capitolina were written in Latin,[42] while Greek inscriptions comprise a small part of the overall finds.[43] The use of Latin in cities of the Roman East has been discussed in the past. It was naturally a deliberate expression of identity (political, cultural or ideological) and a declaration of loyalty and association with the imperial power. In Aelia Capitolina, where veterans certainly settled in the city, the use of Latin on epitaphs and inscriptions may reflect the involvement of the inhabitants in the Roman army. It is also, however, a clear indication of a direct Roman impact on the life of the city.[44] Following the departure of the army, and especially from the Constantinian Age onward, Greek became dominant in the documented inscriptions.[45]

The Christianization of the Cityscape

Constantine's order to demolish the Temple of Venus/Aphrodite and construct the Martyrium and the Anastasis in its place (Eus. *Vita Const.*, 3:25–54) was indeed a dramatic event, even more so in comparison with other Roman cities where the process of Christianization usually avoided the destruction of pagan temples until the late fourth century.[46] The prohibition of pagan worship by order of Theodosius I is only known to have been issued in around 400 CE and

40 Tchekhanovets 2014:76–78.

41 Tsafrir and Foerster 1997:110; Tchekhanovets 2014:80.

42 *CIIP* 1.2, 705–783.

43 *CIIP* 1.2, 708–710, 730–731, 737, 746, 749–750, 752, 764–769, 771–774. See also Isaac 2009:43–72.

44 Isaac 2009:67–68.

45 *CIIP* 1.2, 784–1087.

46 See Patrich 2016, Newman 2014, *inter alia*.

pagan temples were left in ruins for a long time before new buildings, especially churches, were built atop them.[47] While the reason for this unusual act, in the case of the Anastasis, is beyond the scope of this discussion, it may be suggested that unlike the Temple of Aphrodite, other Roman Temples and cultic places continued to exist even after the Christianization of Jerusalem in the Constantinian Age.

The *aedes* (possibly a sanctuary, or a shrine) and the two Hadrianic statues that the Bordeaux Pilgrim saw on top of the Temple Mount in 333 CE may indicate that the cult of the emperor was still practiced at the site.[48] Another pagan cultic center which probably continued to exist during the fourth century was the therapeutic sanctuary at Bethesda, where Asclepius or Serapis was worshiped as the healing god.[49] A church built there in the early fifth century commemorated the healing of the paralytic man by Jesus next to the Bethesda pools (John 5:1–9). The western part of the church was founded on the two ancient Second Temple-period pools of Bethesda (also known as Probatica) and its eastern part (still partly preserved) lay to the east of the pools.[50] The continuity of ritual practices from paganism to Christianity has been discussed in the past.[51] In the case of Bethesda, this continuity is most likely. The church, it should be said, was constructed after pagan cults were prohibited by the Theodosian ban in the early fifth century.

Only two churches were built within the boundaries of Aelia during the fourth century and a few others were constructed outside the city limits (Figs. 74, 75, 76). The Church of the Anastasis, in the central forum of the city, was erected by Constantine in place of the Roman temple that was demolished (above). The Church of Holy Zion (Hagia Sion), also known as the 'Mother of all Churches', was built in the second half of the fourth century on the southern summit of the southwestern hill. It lay, so it seems, within the former legionary territory that was largely unoccupied (above). Several proposals for reconstructing the plan of this church have been suggested in the past, based on its exposed remains.[52] The church was very large and remained one of the largest in the city even well into the Byzantine period, as can be seen in the

47 Tsafrir and Foerster 1997:111. The Christianization of the Roman world has been discussed extensively: For Scythopolis, see Tsafrir and Foerster 1997 106–116; for Caesarea Maritima, see Patrich 2011:104–105; for a general discussion, see MacMullen 1984.

48 *It. Burd.*, 591; Wilkinson 1999:30, 591; *ONOMAS* pp. 192. See discussion above.

49 Above, and Belayche 2001 160–167; Peleg-Barkat 2013:54.

50 Geva 1993:781.

51 Tsafrir and Foerster 1997:110, note 115.

52 Vincent and Abel 1914–1926:451–455; Geva 1993:778; Tsafrir 1999b:313–317.

Madaba mosaic. A recent excavation at David's Tomb, which forms part of the Byzantine complex, confirmed its late fourth-century date.[53]

On the summit and lower slopes of the Mount of Olives, outside the city, several churches were constructed. The church of the Eleone was built by Helena, Constantine's mother, on top of the mount at the site of the cave where Jesus taught his disciples. Few remains of the Early Byzantine period have been found there.[54] A short distance northeast of the Eleone Church are the remains of the Church of the Ascension. Segments of the rotunda of the fourth-century basilica were unearthed in archaeological excavations.[55] The Church of Gethsemane was also built in the late fourth century on the lower slopes of the Mount of Olives, alongside the Valley of Jehoshaphat (Kidron).[56] It may be identified with the "graceful church" mentioned by Egeria at Gethsemane.[57] Just north of Gethsemane is the Church of the Tomb of the Virgin Mary.[58] The church was probably built in the fifth century by Juvenal of Jerusalem and Eudocia,[59] or slightly earlier in the late fourth century.[60]

Destruction of pagan cult places in the late fourth/early fifth century by order of Theodosius has been recognized at many cities throughout Palestina.[61] In Jerusalem, the 'end' of paganism and the demolishing of pagan cultic places may have been encouraged by the 363 CE earthquake. However, apart from the Constantinian Church of the Anastasis that was built in the central forum of Aelia Capitolina, the peripheral location of the churches that were built during the fourth century and the fact that most of them were built outside the traditional city center suggest that the city's appearance did not change dramatically at that time.

Aelia/Hierosolyma in the Fourth Century: Summary and Conclusions

Following Jerusalem's Christianization in the Constantinian Age, the southeastern, extramural hill (in the areas of the Ophel and the City of David)

53 Re'em 2013 239.
54 Vincent and Abel 1914:337–360, 374–419; Tsafrir 1999b:331–332.
55 Vincent and Abel 1914:360–419; Corbo 1959–1960:206–207.
56 Vincent and Abel 1914:328–337; Ashkenazi 2009:214.
57 Wilkinson 1999:38, note 5, and 154: Eg. 36.1.
58 Magen and Kagan 2012:44–45.
59 Ashkenazi 2009:214–215.
60 Geva 1993:784.
61 Tsafrir and Foerster 1997:108–110; Belayche 2001:296–309.

became inhabited with several private courtyard houses. The legionary territory, on the southwestern hill, remained walled and empty for several decades (Fig. 74).

The abandoned camp, now called 'Zion', was finally inhabited in the late fourth century and especially in the fifth and sixth centuries. Several streets, churches and monasteries were built around the summit of this hill by that time. The 'emptiness' of Zion, due to its military past, made the Christian 'takeover' easier, especially when compared with the rest of the city, which was already occupied and less accessible to Christian construction.

In around 400–450 CE, a city wall was built that encompassed the areas of the civilian city of Aelia Capitolina, the abandoned military camp in the southwestern hill (Zion), and the southeastern residential suburb. The construction of the wall 'completed' the physical growth of the city's territory (Fig. 75).

The Christianization of the cityscape was particularly dramatic at the beginning, but it was subsequently quite peaceful. Other than the Anastasis and the Martirium (Church of the Holy Sepulchre), very few churches were built in the fourth century and all were in peripheral areas. Pagan cults were practiced together with Christian rites in the public sphere as well as inside the houses, as finds from the private mansions south of the Temple Mount indicate.

The effect of the 363 CE earthquake on the Christianization of the landscape is inconclusive. An epistle ascribed to Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem in the mid-fourth century[62] relates that more than half of Jerusalem and more than half of its suburb (named Hada) were destroyed.[63] If so, it must have facilitated the Christian building activity in the areas cleared of ruins. However, the archaeological finds are not decisive on this point. In the Givʿati parking lot the peristyle house was totally destroyed in 363 CE and a Byzantine garden replaced it. According to the excavators, this replacement is an example of the clear division between Aelia Capitolina and Hagia Polis Hierosolyma.[64] However, this picture does not repeat itself elsewhere and other houses of the southeast-

62 The epistle is preserved in Syriac, *Ps. Cyr. Hier., Ep. Syriaca*, 11–12 (ed. and English trans. Brock 1977), *ONOMAS*, pp. 328–329. The editor, S. Brock, dates the epistle to the early fifth century.

63 "Now we should like to write down for you the names of the towns which were overthrown: … Hada, a suburb of the city (Jerusalem)—more than half; more than half Jerusalem. And fire came forth and consumed the teachers of the Jews …" (Brock 1977:276, No. 11). Regarding the suburb, the manuscript vocalizes its name, which Brock was unable to identify (ibid.). Could it be that 'Hada' is a corruption of the name of the southeastern residential suburb that possibly retained the Second Temple-period name 'Acra'—the name of the southeastern hill, the 'Lower City' (Jos. *BJ*, v,4,1)?

64 Tchekhanovets 2014:80.

ern residential quarter—also possibly damaged in 363 CE—were reconstructed soon after the tremor along a more or less similar plan. West of the Temple Mount, the Roman bathhouse near Robinson's Arch[65] and other public buildings near Wilson's Arch, all dating from the second–third centuries, continued to be used from the second century to the end of the fourth century, albeit with some modifications.[66] A similar phenomenon is seen in the case of the two main streets, the Eastern Cardo and the Decumanus, which retained their appearance during the fourth century.[67] A drainage channel partly exposed along the route of the Decumanus was blocked by an earthen fill containing finds from the Roman period, second–fourth centuries CE,[68] suggesting that the channel ceased to function no later than the fourth century. Another example of a find that may cautiously be attributed to the outcome of the 363 CE earthquake is a destruction layer exposed over a small area in Room 502 of the Great Causeway, sealing Roman-period installations.[69] The destruction layer contained several coins, the latest ones minted between 361–363 CE. All in all, the finds support the suggestion that the earthquake did indeed harm the city and some buildings were destroyed. However, the damage was repaired quite soon after the tremor (during the late fourth–early fifth centuries), with no clear connection between the new structures and the Christianization of the landscape.

The data discussed above enables the fourth century CE to be defined as a century of change. The construction of the wide-circumference city wall around the city's precinct represents the end of the transitional phase, after which Jerusalem 'entered' the Byzantine period.

65 Mazar 2011a 11–84.
66 Onn, Weksler-Bdolah and Bar-Nathan 2011.
67 Weksler-Bdolah 2014b.
68 Abu-Riya 1991.
69 Onn and Weksler-Bdolah 2017:90–91.

CHAPTER 5

Water Supply: Cisterns, Pools and Aqueducts

Jerusalem's freshwater source since ancient times has been the Gihon Spring on the eastern slope of the southeastern hill, whose waters were channeled into the Siloam Pool centuries before the Romans. In addition, wide, massive dam walls were constructed during the Second Temple period across the valleys inside and outside the city: The Kidron Valley, the Bezeta Valley, the Transversal Valley, the Tyropoeon Valley, and the Hinnom Valley. The dams created large reservoirs of water, which continued to be used in subsequent periods (Figs. 1, 24, 74, 75). Many of these water pools exist to this day.

The Bordeaux Pilgrim (in 333 CE) described the Siloam Pool as flowing for six days and six nights while on the seventh day (the Sabbath), it ceased its flow. He also described two pools at the place: The Siloam Pool—surrounded by a portico—and another pool, outside the wall (Fig. 74, Siloam Pool).[1] Excavations directed by R. Reich and E. Shukron exposed remains of the Second Temple-period pool whose estimated dimensions were 50 × 60 m.[2] The pool stretches across the lower part of the Tyropoeon Valley at the site of the present Birket el-Hamra. It is built against the west side of a broad dam wall at the outlet of the Tyropoeon Valley, on which the 'First Wall' of the Second Temple period is customarily assumed to have been constructed. Until the destruction of the year 70 CE, access to the bottom of the pool was by means of steps that probably surrounded it around all four sides. After the destruction, the pool rapidly silted up due to its topographic location.[3] Nevertheless, because of the continued channeling of the Gihon water to the area of the Siloam pool, this area continued to be a focal point of activity in the Roman and Byzantine periods even though it was outside the city boundaries.[4] At some stage in the Roman or Byzantine periods a new pool was built to the north of the silted-up pool,

1 *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, 592 (ed. Geyer and Cuntz, trans. Wilkinson 1999:30): "… the pool called Siloam. It has four porticoes and a second pool outside, and it flows for six days and six nights; but the seventh day is the Sabbath and then it does not flow at all, either by night or day …"

2 Reich and Shukron 2011 244.

3 Reich 2011:225–232.

4 Remains of the Roman period stratum, including potsherds and the possible base of a milestone overlying a destruction layer attributed to the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE were revealed near the Siloam Pool in a salvage excavation conducted in 2013 (Weksler-Bdolah and Szanton 2014, Stratum 2).

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2020 | DOI:10.1163/9789004417076_006

where a church was constructed in the fifth century. Remains of the pool, which is nearly square in plan (15×16 m) and was surrounded by a portico with the church to its north, were discovered in excavations carried out by Bliss and Dickie who dated it to the Byzantine period.[5] It was probably these two pools that the Bordeaux Pilgrim saw in 333 CE. Most of the Second Temple pool would have been blocked up, but its outline would certainly have been visible on the surface, as it is today. It is generally accepted that the *tetranymphon* recorded in the *Chronicon Paschale* (above) refers to the Pool of Siloam with its surrounding porticoes.

Apart from the Pool of Siloam, the Bordeaux Pilgrim also described two large pools on the side of the Temple, "… one on the right and one on the left …" and another pair of pools, with five porticoes, called the Pool of Bethesda. One of the two pools on the Temple side may be Birket Isra'il, whose remains are recognized north of the Temple Mount wall (Fig. 74: Pool, northeast of Temple Mount). This is a gigantic pool (38×110 m, 24 m deep) constructed in the Second Temple period, against a 14 m wide dam wall that forms its east wall.[6] The dam wall was built across the Bezeta Valley where it runs into the Kidron Valley. It abuts the northeast corner-tower of the Temple Mount. Its east (outer) face is constructed of large ashlars with smoothed faces and Herodian-style marginal drafting.[7] The existence of Birket Isra'il probably influenced the siting of the Roman city's east gate to the north of the pool (estimated to have been at or near Lions Gate) as well as the alignment of the Decumanus leading from it (along the present-day Via Dolorosa).

Approximately 75 m north of Birket Isra'il, upstream in the Bezeta Valley, a pair of pools was constructed that are identified as the Pool of Bethesda (the *probatica*, or 'sheep pool') mentioned in the New Testament (John 5:2–4). The pool is probably the Second Temple sheep pool. The estimated dimensions (of the two pools) are 50–60 m wide, 95 m long, and 15 m deep (Fig. 74, Bethesda Pool). The pools' lower sections are hewn in the rock and their upper sections are ashlar-built. A monumental flight of steps leads down into the south pool on its west side. The sides of the pool, the steps and the base are coated with several layers of gray plaster typical of the Second Temple period. Based on the historical sources, the pools are generally reconstructed as having five porticoes, although no remains of such porticoes have so far been exposed. As

5 Bliss and Dickie 1898:154–158, 179–192.

6 Warren and Conder 1884:122–126; Warren 1881–1884: Pls. 4–5; 16 (section across the eastern dam wall).

7 Warren and Conder 1884 129–130; Ritmeyer 2006:118.

described above, evidence of a pagan cult—possibly to Asclepius or Serapis—has been recovered near the Pool of Bethesda.

Another pool, possibly identified with the second pool "on the side of the temple" in the description by the Bordeaux Pilgrim, was the Struthion Pool located north of the northwest corner of the Temple Mount (Fig. 74, Square, north of Temple Mount). It was built in the Second Temple period inside the moat that surrounded the Antonia Fortress. It measures 14×52 m and ranges from 12 to 17 m deep. Vaults constructed over the Struthion Pool in the Roman period formed the base of the paved plaza of the Roman east forum (today known as the Lithostrotos) whose remains were found in the Sisters of Zion Convent (with the Ecce Homo Arch above it, see above).

Another water reservoir which is located in the upper part of the Transversal Valley, inside Jaffa Gate and northeast of the Citadel, is Hezekiah's Pool (Fig. 74, Pool, 95×44 m, 6–7.50 m deep), also known as the Pool of the Towers or the Pool of the Patriarch's Bath (in Arabic: *Birket Hammam el-Batrak*). Josephus called it "Amygdalon" (Jos. *BJ*, 5,468).[8] The broad east wall of the pool probably served as a dam across the stream. Another proposal holds that the wall followed the line of the Second Wall from the Second Temple period.[9] An aqueduct identified as the high-level aqueduct leads to the pool's southwest corner.[10] Traces of this aqueduct discovered recently during archaeological excavations inside Jaffa Gate were dated to the Roman period (below).

At the outlet of the Transversal Valley, near the place where it joins the Tyropoeon Valley, a huge dam wall was constructed in the Second Temple period measuring roughly 100 m from southwest to northeast and 14 m wide. Above this dam, an arched bridge built in the Roman period (the Great Causeway) carried the Decumanus to the Temple Mount compound.[11] Remains of a water pool built up against the Western Wall of the Temple Mount were discovered to the north of this dam wall. Its estimated length was 36 m (along the Temple Mount) and its width is unknown. The pool was dated to the Roman period.[12]

All the large Second Temple-period reservoirs therefore probably continued to be used in one form or another during the Roman period—except for the Pool of Siloam, which silted up and was replaced by a new pool to its north.

---

8 "The tenth legion, and over against the pool termed Amygdalon …"

9 Avi-Yonah1956:312; Kloner 1999:45–46.

10 Vincent and Steve 1954:300–301.

11 Onn, Weksler-Bdolah and Bar-Nathan 2011.

12 Bahat 2013:236–240. It is not improbable, in the authors' view, that a pool was originally built here, on the north side of the dam, in the late Second Temple period.

The two large aqueducts from the Second Temple period that diverted water to Jerusalem from the region of ʿEin ʿArub and Solomon's Pools were also still being used.[13] Building work and renovations carried out on the high-level aqueduct are attested to by Latin inscriptions with the names of centurions and units of the Tenth Legion Fretensis found on several segments of the stone pipe, or siphon, which traverses the Bethlehem Valley.[14]

A section of an aqueduct that was recorded in 1904 in a map by Kümmel was recently discovered inside Jaffa Gate.[15] The aqueduct is now documented over a 100 m length as far as the place where it enters Hezekiah's Pool. The route, level and destination of the aqueduct enabled its excavators to identify it as the high-level aqueduct; however, the section that was explored has now been dated to the Roman period (second to fourth century CE) based on finds uncovered in the excavations. Dozens of roof tiles were incorporated in its sides, many of which bear the stamp of the Tenth Legion, and its covering slabs were sealed beneath a layer of soil containing legionary tiles and coins that were also dated to the fourth century.

In addition to the pools and the aqueducts, the most likely main source of water for the city's daily needs was the water cisterns hewn or installed within it. Some of these are ancient cisterns (from the Second Temple period) that were integrated within new structures and some were originally built at this stage. Most of the water cisterns remained functional even after the Roman period and some are still in use today.[16]

---

13 Mazar 2002.

14 Vetrali 1968; Di Segni 2002:40–52 and references there.

15 Sion and Puni 2011.

16 Many cisterns have been discovered throughout the city. See for example cisterns that were exposed recently in the excavations of the Eastern Cardo (Weksler-Bdolah and Onn 2017:18–20). A cistern from the Second Temple period, which was originally installed in the underground floor of a residential building, was later incorporated into the area immediately west of the western portico of the Cardo. The upper section of this cistern was hewn and lowered to fit the level of the cardo, and its roof was now made of stone slabs placed on top of arches. The Roman conservation of the cistern caused a slight change in the cardo plan: a shop in the row of shops that aligned the western portico that was supposed to be located in place of the cistern was moved to the west and its floor level was raised so that it would fit the level of the cistern's new roof. In addition, new cisterns first installed in the Roman and Byzantine periods below the western portico continued to be used until modern times.

CHAPTER 6

The City's Cemeteries

According to Roman tradition, it was forbidden to bury the dead within the city. Jerusalem's cemeteries in the Late Roman period were therefore spread outside the city, especially in the areas to its north, east, south, and southwest. The burial sites (*necropoleis*) are characterized by dense burials in open areas and sometimes in abandoned quarries. In a number of cases, the reuse of burial caves from the Second Temple period for later Roman burial has been identified (e.g., at the Tombs of the Kings and Akeldama) and in one instance a First Temple-period burial cave was reused (on Ketef Hinnom).[1]

The main burial types used by the inhabitants of Aelia Capitolina are distinctly different from the tradition of *kokhim* burial in family caves practiced by Jews in Jerusalem during the Second Temple period. Cremated burials have been discovered at several sites around the Old City, in which the body of the deceased was cremated and the remaining ashes buried in funeral urns made of cooking pots or jars. The tombs of the cremated were dug into pits in the ground and, in rare cases, into chambers inside Second Temple burial caves—in the floors, inside the *kokhim*, and even inside sarcophagi (Fig. 80).[2] The custom of cremation and burial of the ashes is usually identified with soldiers of the Tenth Legion, but the Akeldama caves also contained the cremated remains of a woman, a youth, and an infant,[3] and at Ketef Hinnom the burial of a cremated individual aged over 60 was discovered.[4] These remains show that the tradition was evidently also followed for civilians.

The most common form of burial was the interment of the deceased in a cist tomb (also known in the literature as pit graves, or shaft tombs) that was either rock-hewn underground or dug and lined with stone courses. Simple burial caves containing one or more cells with burial troughs hewn in the floor were also used (Fig. 81A, B).

1 For summaries and references, see Avni 2005, 2017; Kloner 2002, *inter alia*.

2 Cremations have been documented in the northern cemetery outside Damascus Gate (Hennessy 1970; Wightman 1989), in three cooking pots c. 400 m north of Damascus Gate, along the Third Wall (Tzaferis et al. 2000) and inside the Second Temple-period burial cave known as the Tombs of the Kings (Kloner 2002). In the south and southwest cemeteries—along the Hinnom Valley, in Ketef Hinnom and Akeldama (see references below).

3 Avni and Greenhut 1996:35; Zias 1996:117.

4 Avner and Zelinger 2015; Nagar 2015:57*, Table 3, Locus No. 179.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2020 | DOI:10.1163/9789004417076_007

FIGURE 80 Cooking pots and jars used for cremated burials at Ketef Hinnom
AVNER AND ZELINGER 2015; COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

Quite a few ashlar-built mausoleums have been found in the cemeteries of Aelia Capitolina—for example, at the Jerusalem YMCA and east of Lions Gate (below).[5] Some of these were probably located along the main axis roads leading to the city from north, east, and west. In two cases, tombs decorated with wall paintings have been discovered.[6] Twelve of the tombs contained 31 lead coffins, comprising c. 30 percent of the total number of such finds in Israel, leading to a conclusion that Jerusalem was probably a production center of this type of coffin.[7]

5 See examples of mausoleum tombs in other cities: for Nablus, see Magen 2009:272–292; for Samaria, see Hamilton 1939; for Bet She'arim, see Mazar 1958, Avigad 1971; for Jerash, see Fisher 1938:541.
6 Bliss and Dickie 1898:243–249; Kloner 1975.
7 Rahmani 1999:79–80.

FIGURE 81A Cist tombs (Shaft tombs): Tombs of the Roman period, in Ketef Hinnom
AVNER AND ZELINGER 2015; COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

The Northern Cemetery

As well as being the largest of Jerusalem's cemeteries, the northern cemetery has yielded the richest finds and contains dozens of burials from the second–fourth centuries CE (Figs. 74, 82). It extends mainly to the north of the 'Sukenik-Mayer' wall, identified by many as the 'Third Wall' of the Second Temple-period.[8] The 'Third Wall', whose remains have so far been uncovered over a total length of c. 1000 m, c. 450 m north of the Ottoman Old City wall, probably served to mark the (future) northern boundary of Aelia Capitolina—as proposed by Avni—and the cemeteries were therefore located to its north.[9]

The largest concentrations of tombs and burial caves have been found along Nablus Road and Salah e-Din Street. Another concentration of burials lies

8 Geva 1993:744–745.

9 Avni 2005, 2017 124–128, Fig. 1; *inter alia*. Another suggestion that was recently offered by Ecker and Cotton (2019:60–61) is that the area that extended between the line of the northern wall of the Old City (at Damascus Gate area) and the line of the 'Third Wall' had been used as the Tenth legion's *campus* (parade and training ground of the legion). This, too, might explain the almost total absence of burials in this area.

FIGURE 81B Cist tombs (Shaft tombs): Tombs in the Northern Cemetery
AVNI AND ADAWI 2015; COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

FIGURE 82 A general view of the northern cemetery of Aelia Capitolina, in Salah e-Din Street
AFTER AVNI AND ADAWI 2015, COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

in the region of the Tombs of the Kings, and another near the Rockefeller Museum. A minority of the burials in the northern cemetery are cremations and most are simple cist graves and burial caves with a single chamber and burial troughs hewn in the floor. Approximately 80 burials were discovered in recent excavations along Jerusalem's Salah e-Din Street. Most of these were rectangular cist graves hewn in the rock and covered with flat stone slabs. Head-rests were hewn in the bases of some graves. They were 1.5–2.0 m long, 0.3–0.5 m wide, and 1.2–1.6 m deep. The graves were densely concentrated inside an earlier, Second Temple period quarry, some on a north–south axis and some aligned from east to west. Beside them were a few simple burial caves, one of which had a rock-hewn burial chamber (1.9 × 1.9 m, 1.6 m high) with an opening cut in its roof and three burial troughs in its floor.[10]

The burials have yielded a wealth of grave goods placed in the tombs with the deceased, including an abundance of oil lamps, glass vessels and

10 Avni and Adawi 2015. For previous excavations in this area, see Prag 1994.

FIGURES 83A–B A variety of grave goods from the Northern Cemetery in Salah ed-Din street: (A) An ovoid oil lamp, with a large filling hole, dated to the third–fourth centuries CE. (B) A mold-blown glass jar, dated to the third century
PHOTOS: CLARA AMIT; COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY. (A) AVNI AND ADAWI 2015: FIG. 23:8; (B) WINTER 2015: FIG. 3:1

FIGURES 83C–D A variety of grave goods from the Northern Cemetery in Salah ed-Din street: (C) A pair of gold earrings with pendant; (D) A gold crescent earring with suspensions
PHOTOS: CLARA AMIT; COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY. (C) WINTER 2015: FIG. 5:2; (D) WINTER 2015: FIG. 5:7

FIGURE 83E
A variety of grave goods from the Northern Cemetery in Salah ed-Din street: A bone female figurine
WINTER 2015: FIG. 11:1 PHOTO: CLARA AMIT; COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

numerous gold, lead, copper/bronze, iron, glass, wood, shell and bone artifacts (Fig. 83A–E).[11]

A unique find consisted of several miniature, lead and lead-based artifacts recovered from one of the tombs, including a miniature footed juglet with one handle, whose body is decorated on both sides with a herringbone pattern bordered on top by two horizontal ridges (Fig. 84). Miniature lead artifacts are rarely found in tombs of this period, hence the significance of this exceptional assemblage interred with a single skeleton. According to Winter, these miniature lead vessels probably served as containers for liquids such as perfumes. Lead was preferred for their manufacture as it preserved the perfume's odor and

11 For a discussion of the finds and the identity of the deceased as reflected by them, see Winter 2015; Bijovsky 2015; Mazor 2015.

FIGURE 84
Miniature lead juglet from the Sallah ed-Din cemetery
WINTER 2015: FIG. 6:1; PHOTO: CLARA AMIT; COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

did not absorb others.[12] The isotope ratios of lead in a few artifacts that were sampled indicate various ore sources in central Britain.[13] This, in Winter's view, may indicate that the individual interred in the tomb was either a foreigner carrying objects from afar, or a local person in possession of objects brought to the region by merchants or Roman legionaries from the western provinces of the empire.

Sometimes coins were interred in a grave. In one of the tombs, a coin of the second century CE was discovered within the skull of the deceased, suggesting the coin had been placed in his mouth or covered one of his eyes. The placement of the coin represented a pagan custom, probably related to Charon's

12 Winter 2015:97–100, and references therein.
13 Segal 2015:134, table 2.

FIGURE 85 Perforated coin from the Sallah ed-Din cemetery
BIJOVSKY 2015; PHOTO: MARIANA SALZBERGER, COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

obol.[14] Another perforated coin, found together with four small fragments of bronze chain, was apparently re-used as a pendant and buried with its owner (Fig. 85). It is a coin of western origin minted in Trier in 352 CE. According to the excavators, the tomb, with two narrow, adjacent burial troughs was of a type unknown in Late Roman burials in Jerusalem. This, and the geographical origin of the coin, may suggest that the deceased were foreigners living in Jerusalem.[15] However the Chi-Rho symbol that appears on the coin may also suggest the Christian identity of the deceased and a possible reason for its becoming a pendant.[16]

Another find of interest, from a burial cave in the Sallah ed-Din north cemetery, is a magical cobalt glass amulet with a Greek inscription engraved on one side and an image of Artemis the archer on the other (Fig. 86).[17] Artemis/Diana

14 Bijovsky 2015:125. Charon's obol is a term describing a payment or bribe for Charon, the ferryman who conveyed souls across the river that divided the world of the living from the world of the dead.
15 Avni and Adawi 2015:54–56, Bijovsky 2015:125.
16 The Chi Rho is one of the earliest forms of christogram, formed by superimposing the first two letters—chi and rho—of the Greek word ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ.
17 Avni and Adawi 2015:47; Winter 2015:93; Mazor 2015. The amulet was retrieved from a

FIGURE 86 Amulet from the Sallah ed-Din cemetery, obverse and reverse
MAZOR 2015; PHOTO: MARIANA SALZBERGER; COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

stands in a frontal hunting posture, facing left. Her left hand holds a bow and the right hand draws an arrow from a quiver behind her shoulder. She wears a short tunic (chiton), a diadem on her forehead and a crown on her head. On the reverse side, a transliterated Hebrew word is written in large, square Greek letters.[18] The pseudo-Greek word ΣΑΒΑΩ, meaning the Israelite God (ה' צבאות), has its origins in the Jewish mystical world. It became popular among pagans and Christians of the Roman East, due to the therapeutic powers attributed to the magical term. In light of the assumed connection of Artemis/Diana with military personnel, Mazor suggested that the cave served the family of a Roman veteran of the Tenth Legion who resided in Aelia Capitolina.

Funerary stones of soldiers and civilians bearing inscriptions in Latin and Greek provide a further glimpse into the identity of the city's population. The following are some examples of epitaphs found on intact stones whose presumed origin is tombs in the northern cemetery of Aelia Capitolina.

---

burial cave dated to the second-third centuries CE, with its final phase of burial in the third–fourth centuries CE.

18 For a description and discussion of the amulet, see Mazor 2015.

An epitaph made of reddish marble bearing a Latin inscription of five lines was found during the construction of Saint George's Anglican Cathedral (700 m north of the Old City walls). The stone records the name of a soldier in the Tenth Legion, Lucius Magnius Felix, aged 39, who served in the army for 19 years (*CIIP* 1.2, 736). It is possible that the soldier was enlisted in North Africa; he may have come with the Tenth Legion to Jerusalem, where he died and was buried. The inscription has been dated to the third century CE.

Another stone, containing a family epitaph—which may have been erected over a family mausoleum—was recovered during excavations along the 'Sukenik-Mayer' wall, c. 400 m north of the city wall (*CIIP* 1.2, 740).[19] The inscription was commissioned by Titus Flavius Clemens and commemorates his parents. The father was born in Zeugma and the circumstances of his arrival in Aelia Capitolina are unclear, as is the reason why his sons received Roman citizenship (the name Flavius shows that the sons were Roman citizens). The sons were not awarded citizenship for military service (the youngest died when he was 27 and could not have served the obligatory 25 years to gain citizenship; the son who erected the stone does not record that he was a soldier or a veteran, which he most certainly would have done if it were so). The family therefore presumably moved from Zeugma with the father, who was probably a follower of the Tenth Legion, and his sons were granted citizenship in recognition of his contribution.[20]

An unusual inscription is a Latin epitaph in a *tabula ansata* discovered during work on the Franciscan Casa Nova hostel in today's Christian Quarter, near the New Gate.[21] The four-line inscription was erected in memory of a freedman called Hetereius Graptus by his patron Rufus. The style of the inscription shows (in the opinion of Eck) that the tomb was probably shaped as an ashlar mausoleum commissioned by the patron for his freed slave. The inscription dates to the second–third centuries, during the era of Aelia Capitolina.

Interestingly, a few tombs and epitaphs have been documented along the northern wall of the Old City c. 450 m inside the line of the 'Third Wall'. An epitaph of a Roman soldier, a centurion named Tiberius Claudius Fatalis, was

19 "For Glaucus, (son) of Artemidorus from Zeugma, who lived 78 years, for C… Marcella, the wife of Glaucus, who lived 48 years, for Flavius Demetrianus, their dutiful son, who lived 27 years. Titus Flavius Clemens had the tomb built for his parents" (trans. Eck, *CIIP* 1.2, 740: p. 44).

20 My thanks to Leah Di Segni and Benjamin Isaac for these and other ideas raised in conversations with them on this subject.

21 *CIIP* 1.2, 741 (a *tabula ansata* is a rectangular frame with dovetail handles).

discovered c. 250 m east of Damascus Gate.[22] It was integrated in secondary use in a water channel's inspection chamber, below the level of the Ottoman wall. Eight lines of a Latin inscription are engraved on the stone, dedicated to the memory of Tiberius Claudius Fatalis, an officer who was born in Rome and died in Jerusalem at the age of 42 having served in the Roman army for 23 years. He began his military service as a centurion in the Second Legion Augusta, which was probably stationed in Britain. He later joined the Twentieth, Eleventh, Fourteenth, and Twelfth Legions and finally the Tenth Legion Fretensis. The stone was erected by his wife, Claudia Ionice, whom he freed and to whom he left his estate. The epitaph was dated to the late first–early second century CE.

Parts of two tombstones were recovered in Magen's excavations inside Damascus Gate.[23] The upper part of an epitaph with the probable name of the deceased, C(aius) Pomp[oni]|us, was discussed by Eck (*CIIP* 1.2, 745). Another epitaph was recently rediscovered. The Latin inscription records that a man named Lucianus set up the monument, with his own money, in memory of his brother who had served in the army.[24]

Approximately 5 m to the north and outside Damascus Gate, an intact cooking vessel was uncovered containing the burial of an infant and two small pit graves that were probably intended for children. The three tombs were dated to the late first or early second century CE, after the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE and before the founding of Aelia Capitolina.[25]

The comparatively early date of the tombs and epitaphs in the area of the Damascus Gate allows for the suggestion that these funeral monuments may have flanked the road coming out of the legionary camp before 130 CE. However, following the establishment of the colony—when other specific areas were allotted for cemeteries—this area was excluded for further burials.[26]

---

22 *CIIP* 1.2, 734; Hamilton 1944:38–39, Plate X,2; Avi-Yonah 1939:54–57, Pl. XXXVI:3; 1968 125, note 124.

23 Magen 1988, 1994. One tombstone was discovered in a soil deposit inside the gate's western tower and the location of the second tombstone is unknown. It was recently rediscovered in a room used by the excavators.

24 Reading: L. Di Segni, in Weksler-Bdolah and Di Segni *in prep.*

25 Wightman 1989:23, Plate 27:5; Geva and Bahat 1998 229–230, note 25; Kloner 2002:95–96.

26 Weksler-Bdolah and Di Segni, *in prep.*

The South and Southwest Cemeteries

This necropolis stretches over the western and southern slopes of the Hinnom Valley (Fig. 74). A few cist graves have been found to the west of Jaffa Gate, in the region of the Mamilla parking lot.[27] Excavations in the 1930s in the precincts of the Jerusalem YMCA exposed a mausoleum and burial caves that were dated by their contents to the Roman period (third century CE).[28] Each grave contained a decorated lead coffin that had probably been enclosed in a wooden casket. To the east of these two graves was a chamber where another lead coffin was discovered. Avi-Yonah and Rahmani examined the motifs with which the lead coffins were embellished. They include an eagle standing at the entrance to a small temple with two spiral columns supporting a gabled roof and two winged cupids carrying grapes. Within and around the lead coffins were circular Roman oil lamps, glass vessels, and fragments of gold jewelry as well as a nail, a metal angle, and pieces of wood—attesting to outer wooden caskets within which the lead coffins were placed (Fig. 87).

Burial in lead coffins shows that the deceased were wealthy people with considerable financial resources. In Aelia Capitolina, they were probably rich city dwellers or estate owners.

Further south, at Ketef Hinnom on the southwest slopes of the Hinnom Valley, the largest concentration of cremation burials in Jerusalem was uncovered, as well as a large group of dug and hewn cist graves.[29] Friable chunks of burnt soil found at the site were interpreted by Barkay as the remains of funeral pyres. Furthermore, ten to eleven cremation burials were found in pottery vessels: Eight–nine in cooking pots and two in jars. These contained the remains of crushed, burnt bones, ash, and fragments of metal nails. The cooking pots were placed on the surface. One pot was covered with a deep bowl and surrounded with a ring of stones. Burned bones were also discovered in two places beside a glass candlestick-type bottle characteristic of the Roman period. Seven cremation burials that were examined were found to contain the remains of one individual each but in most cases the age and sex of the deceased were indeterminate. In one instance the remains were those of a 30–39-year-old and in another the person was aged over 60.[30] The latter was probably not a soldier at the time of death, since Roman soldiers enlisted when they were about 20 and were released from the army after 20–25 years of service (legionaries served 20

27 Reich and Shukron 1994:94.
28 See Iliffe 1935; Avi-Yonah 1935:97–98, Fig. 4; Rahmani 1999:100, 102–103, Cat. Nos. 47, 48, 58.
29 Barkay 2000:90–91; Avner and Zelinger 2015 and references there. See Figs. 80–81, above.
30 Y. Nagar 2015:143, 57*, Table 3.

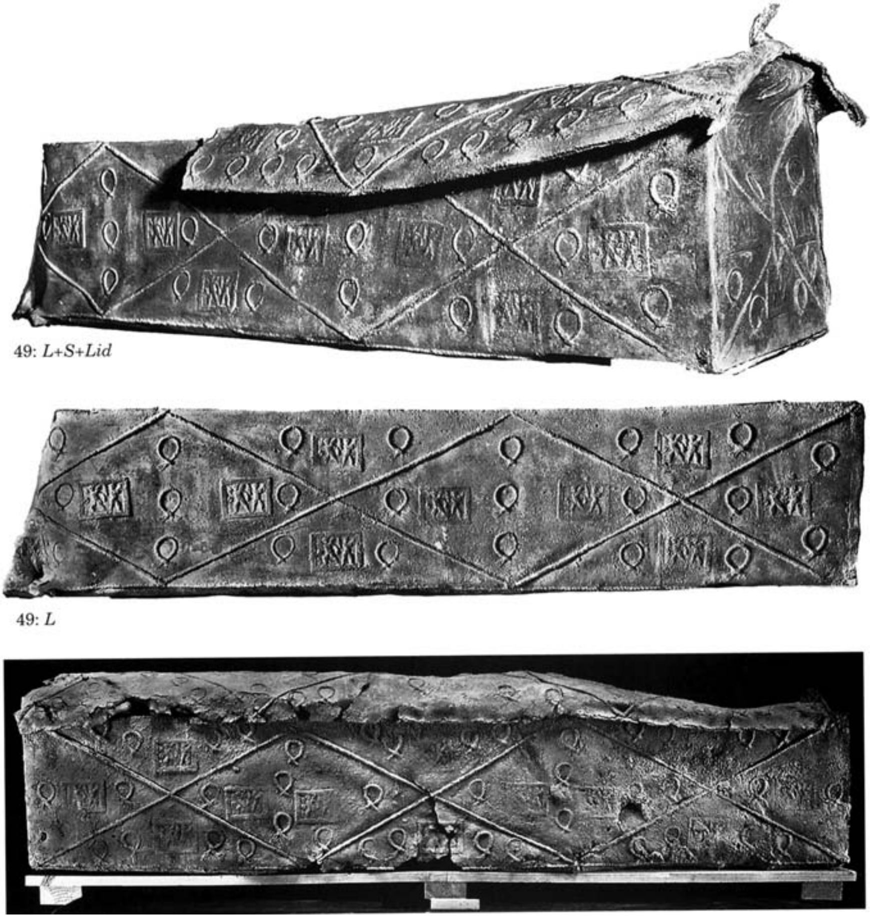

FIGURE 87A Lead coffins of the Roman period from Jerusalem
AFTER RAHMANI 1999: PL. 25: *CAT. NOS.* 49 (2 UPPER PHOTOS) *CAT. NO.* 50 (LOWER PHOTO)

years or more and auxiliaries at least 25 years). Late Roman burials have been identified in several burial caves along the Hinnom Valley, many of which were originally hewn and used for burial in the First and Second Temple periods, and were reused now.[31] Cave 34 on Ketef Hinnom, from the late First Temple period, yielded evidence of reuse for later Roman burial.[32] Pottery, coins and jewelry were discovered beside skeletons that were placed on previous deposits

31 Macalister 1900, and below.
32 Barkay 2000:91–92.

FIGURE 87B Lead coffins of the Roman period from Jerusalem
AFTER RAHMANI 1999: PL. 27, *CAT. NO.* 53

in the cave. Next to one of the skulls was a coin from the time of Emperor Maximilian (286–310 CE), indicating the custom of placing a coin in the mouth of the deceased (Charon's obol).[33] Two gold earrings, one studded with gems, were also recovered. Barkay suggested the remains may be those of Jews who lived near the Roman city, but in light of similar findings in other caves along the Hinnom Valley it seems more likely that they belong to Roman soldiers or civilians. Remains of Roman cremation burials were discovered in eleven different locations inside Second Temple burial caves explored at Akeldama, near the confluence of the Hinnom and the Kidron valleys.[34] The burnt bones were concentrated on the floors of the rooms, inside the *kokhim*, and even inside ossuaries whose original contents had been emptied. The cremated remains of a woman, a youth, and an infant at Akeldama show that the burials were civilian, not military.[35] Pottery and glass vessels, as well as gold earrings, jewelry and second–fourth century coins were discovered along with the cremation buri-

33 A similar custom was documented in the northern cemetery (Bijovsky 2015, and above).

34 Avni and Greenhut 1996. Secondary phases of use in the late Second Temple period burial caves included remains of cremations, dated to the Late Roman period (second–fourth centuries), and evidence of mass burials in wooden coffins, dating from the fifth–seventh centuries CE.

35 Avni and Greenhut 1996:35; Zias 1996:117.

als, dating the finds to between the late first and the mid-fourth centuries CE (Figs. 88A–D).[36] The pottery vessels included rounded discus oil lamps with a decorated or plain discus, typical of the second and third centuries CE, together with rounded or ovoid lamps with a large filling hole typical of the third–fifth centuries. Most of the glass vessels were candlestick-type bottles from the late first–mid-third centuries, common finds in Roman funerary contexts throughout Jerusalem.

The East Cemetery

A magnificent burial complex probably dating from the fourth century was discovered to the north of the road descending east from Lions Gate (Bab el-Asbat, or St. Stephen's Gate), near the junction with the Jericho Road.[37] The complex included two adjacent mausoleums that were accessed from the south, presumably from the road that led to the city gate. Both mausoleums have a similar plan and are entered via a wide staircase leading up from the road to a terrace built in front of the central burial chamber. Four cist graves were set in the floor of the terrace. To its north was a square burial chamber. The east burial chamber had a flat ceiling resting on arches whose west pillars were preserved, while the west chamber was roofed with a fine vaulted ceiling built of ashlars that supported an upper floor. Five burial troughs with partitions built between them were preserved in the floor of the east chamber. In the center of the chamber, eleven steps led down to a natural underground cavity with five more burial troughs dug in its leveled floor. In the north wall of the east chamber, a Second Temple inscription known as the 'Soreg inscription' (or 'Temple Balustrade' inscription) was incorporated in secondary use. The finds in both tombs include oil lamps and glass vessels dating from the fourth century CE.[38]

Further east, Aelia Capitolina's necropolis was concentrated mainly on the west slope of the Mount of Olives (Fig. 74). A rock-hewn burial cave discovered halfway up the road leading to the Augusta Victoria Compound contains *arcosolia* and wall paintings of birds and vine tendrils.[39] Near the Dominus Flevit Church on the slopes of the Mount of Olives, a densely-occupied burial

36 For the small finds in the Akeldama Tombs see Ben-Arieh and Coen-Uzielli 1996; Winter 1996a, b; Bijovsky 2016.

37 Hamilton 1938: Figs. 1, Pls. XL–XLII.

38 Hamilton 1938: Fig. 1, Pls. XL–XLII; for the Soreg inscription, see Iliffe 1938.

39 Kloner 1975.

FIGURES 88A–D Roman Grave goods from the Akeldama Tombs: (A) Round discus oil lamp (second-third century), after Ben-Arieh and Coen-Uzielli 1996: Fig. 4.9:1; (B) Round/ oval body oil lamp with a large filling hole (third-fourth century), after Ben-Arieh and Coen-Uzielli 1996: Fig. 4.12.1; (C) Glass bottles, Winter 1996, photo: Meidad Socholovsky; (D) Gold earrings, Winter 1996b; photos 88 A, B, D: Clara Amit; courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority, after Avni and Greenhut 1996.

ground was found to have 66 rock-hewn burial caves containing *arcosolia* and burial troughs, as well as 70 single cist graves. Finds from the graves show that this burial ground began to be used by the city's inhabitants in the mid-third century CE and this continued into the Late Byzantine period.[40]

40 Bagatti and Milik 1958.

CHAPTER 7

The Rural Hinterland of Aelia Capitolina

A comparatively small number of Late Roman-period sites (second–fourth centuries CE) are known in the immediate vicinity of Aelia Capitolina, within a radius of about 7–10 Roman miles (c. 10–15 km; Fig. 89). These include military guard posts, a military workshop for pottery vessels and building materials at Binyanei Ha-Umma, a few Roman villas, and an unusual, apparently Jewish settlement that was established north of Jerusalem immediately after 70 CE and abandoned on the eve of the Bar Kokhba Revolt (before 132 CE) at Shʿufat. Rural cemeteries are known in the hinterland too. Most of the known sites are located along the imperial roads radiating from Aelia Capitolina. The rural settlement pattern is strikingly different from the dense ring of settlements that surrounded Jerusalem during the Second Temple period.[1] This small number of Roman settlements is interpreted as being an inevitable result of the historical circumstances. Following the suppression of the Great Revolt in 70 CE and the Bar Kokhba Revolt about 65 years later, Jewish villages and towns were abandoned and deliberately destroyed as the Romans confiscated lands that were privately owned by Jews. Josephus, when describing the post-70 CE situation, noted (Jos. *BJ*, 7, 216–217, trans. Isaac 2010:13):

> About the same time, Caesar sent instructions to Bassus and Laberius Maximus, the procurator, to dispose of all Jewish land. For he founded there no city of his own while keeping their territory, but only to eight hundred veterans did he assign a place for settlement called Emmaus.

Following the Bar Kokhba Revolt, Cassius Dio noted (Dio Cass. LXIX: 12–15, Stern 1980:391–393):

1 For discussions of the economic and agricultural hinterland of Jerusalem during the Early Roman, Second Temple, Late Roman (Aelia Capitolina) and Byzantine (324–636 CE) periods, see Baruch 1998; Greenhut 1997; Klein 2011; Kloner, Klein and Zissu 2017; Seligman 2011a, 2011b, *inter alia*. Remains of a rural settlement from the Second Temple period that were recently discovered at Kh. Al' Adassa in Pisgat Ze'ev and above them the remains of a farmhouse from the Byzantine period with no Late Roman stratum are characteristic of many sites from around the city (Zelinger 2015).

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2020 | DOI:10.1163/9789004417076_008

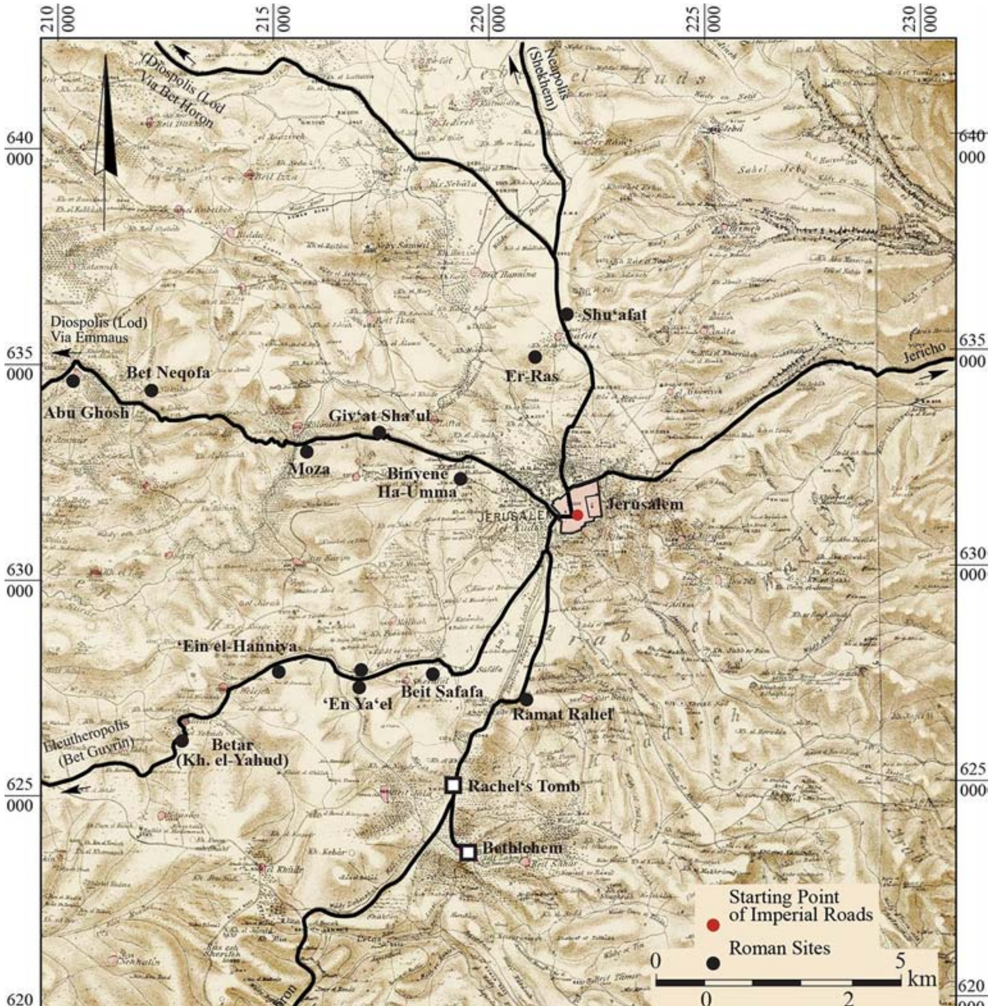

FIGURE 89 The hinterland of Aelia Capitolina
DRAWING: DANIT LEVI, NATALYA ZAK, COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY); BASED ON PLANS BY CONDER AND KITCHENER 1880: SHEET XVII; FISCHER, ISAAC AND ROLL 1996:84, FIG. 11; TSAFRIR, DI SEGNI AND GREEN 1994: GENERAL MAP; BEN DAVID 2013:208, FIG. 1

> Fifty of their most important outposts, and nine hundred and eighty-five of their most famous villages were razed to the ground … Thus nearly the whole of Judaea was made desolate … and many wolves and hyenas rushed howling into their cities … This, then, was the end of the war with the Jews.

A similar testimony was repeated by Eusebius (Eus. *HE* 4: 6, 1): "[the Emperor] inflicted a heavy blow on them … when he was liquidating … and even enslaving their land, subject to the orders of war." It is generally assumed that the small number of settlements in the agricultural periphery mirrors the small size of the population of Aelia Capitolina itself.[2]

Following is a brief description of the archaeological remains known around the Roman city.[3] The sparse nature of the rural settlement around the city suggests that the economy of Aelia Capitolina could obviously not have relied solely on the supply of goods from its hinterland. There were not enough rural settlements to support the city's population, even more so after 135 CE when the few Jewish settlements that thrived after the fall of Jerusalem in 70 CE no longer survived. Moreover, since the archaeological remains indicate that the Roman villas flourished in the third and fourth centuries, the source of the city's supplies during the second half of the second century is even more difficult to explain. It can therefore be assumed that the city's population, which was now based on the Roman army, relied among other things on the economic strength of the soldiers. The excellent road system leading to the city enabled its population to buy and import foodstuffs and essential goods from afar and it is quite possible that the links that existed between Jerusalem and other economic centers before 70 CE were now renewed.

The Imperial Roads

The Roman control of the rural lands around Jerusalem is demonstrated by the six imperial roads that led from Aelia Capitolina: North to Neapolis (Shekhem), east to Jericho, south to Hebron, southwest to Eleutheropolis (Bet Guvrin), west

2 In the Roman period (second–third centuries), the combined area of the city and the army camp was approximately 100–110 ha. Estimations of the size of the population range from 80,000 (Avi-Yonah 1974:121) to 4,000 or even less (Geva 2014b 149).

3 The review summarizes the information found in the research literature together with recent, yet unpublished findings revealed in recent excavations. Thanks are extended to the excavators for their permission to cite preliminary reports.

to Diospolis (Lod) via Emmaus, and northwest to Diospolis (Lod) via Bet Ḥoron (Fig. 90).[4] Aelia Capitolina—and the permanent base of the Tenth Legion—was clearly the central junction of the Roman road network in Judaea, where six highways converged.

More than a hundred milestones in intact and fragmented states have been discovered along the routes of the roads, consisting of square bases surmounted by a circular column (average height 1.50–2.50 m). The milestones were erected at one-mile intervals along the imperial roads. Inscriptions were incised or painted on the stones. The inscription mentions the name of the emperor, or emperors, under whom the milestone was erected and their regnal years, usually in Latin. Then follows an indication of distance, usually, but not always, from the nearest city. This indication is sometimes written in Latin, sometimes in Greek. Thirteen of the milestones name Aelia Capitolina as the road's starting point.[5]

The exact measurement of a Roman mile (*mille passus*, one thousand double paces) used by the road makers is not known, but is generally considered to have been 1482 m. In the East, the Romans used the Philetherian mile as well, also known as the 'Egyptian' mile, which measures 1575 m. Measurements along the Bet Guvrin–Hebron road give a length of 1635 m. A section between two milestones on the Gofna-Jaffa road measured 2100 m, and on the road leading south from Avdat the stones are not equidistant. Since no sufficiently long sections of Roman roads that are completely preserved between two original groupings of milestones located *in situ* have survived, the distances cannot be accurately measured.[6] Recent computerized measurements between the findspots of milestones—marked on a map of the roads radiating from Aelia Capitolina at the points where they were discovered—provide a distance of approximately 1450–1500 m between the stones (Table 1).[7]

Until the Great Revolt, as far as is known, the Roman administration used existing roads dating from the time of Herod and earlier.[8] Two milestones from

4 For descriptions of the roads, see Ben David 2013; Isaac 1988 (2); Roll 1983, 1994 21–22; Seligman 2011b:304–321; Klein 2011:22–24; Gibson 1995 238–243.

5 Three milestones on the northern road to Neapolis (Nablus, Shechem), one on the eastern, Gofna–Jericho road, two or three on the southern road to Hebron, four or five on the southwestern road to Eleuthropolis-Bet Guvrin, and two on the western road to Emmaus (Ben-David 2013:215–217). For the milestones known around Jerusalem see Isaac 2008b, Ben-David 2013.

6 Roll 1983:152.

7 The computerized measurements were taken by Danit Levi. See below, the 'Starting Point'.

8 Roll 1983:138–140; for a discussion of the Herodian roads in Judaea, see Tepper and Tepper 2013a, 2013b and references there.

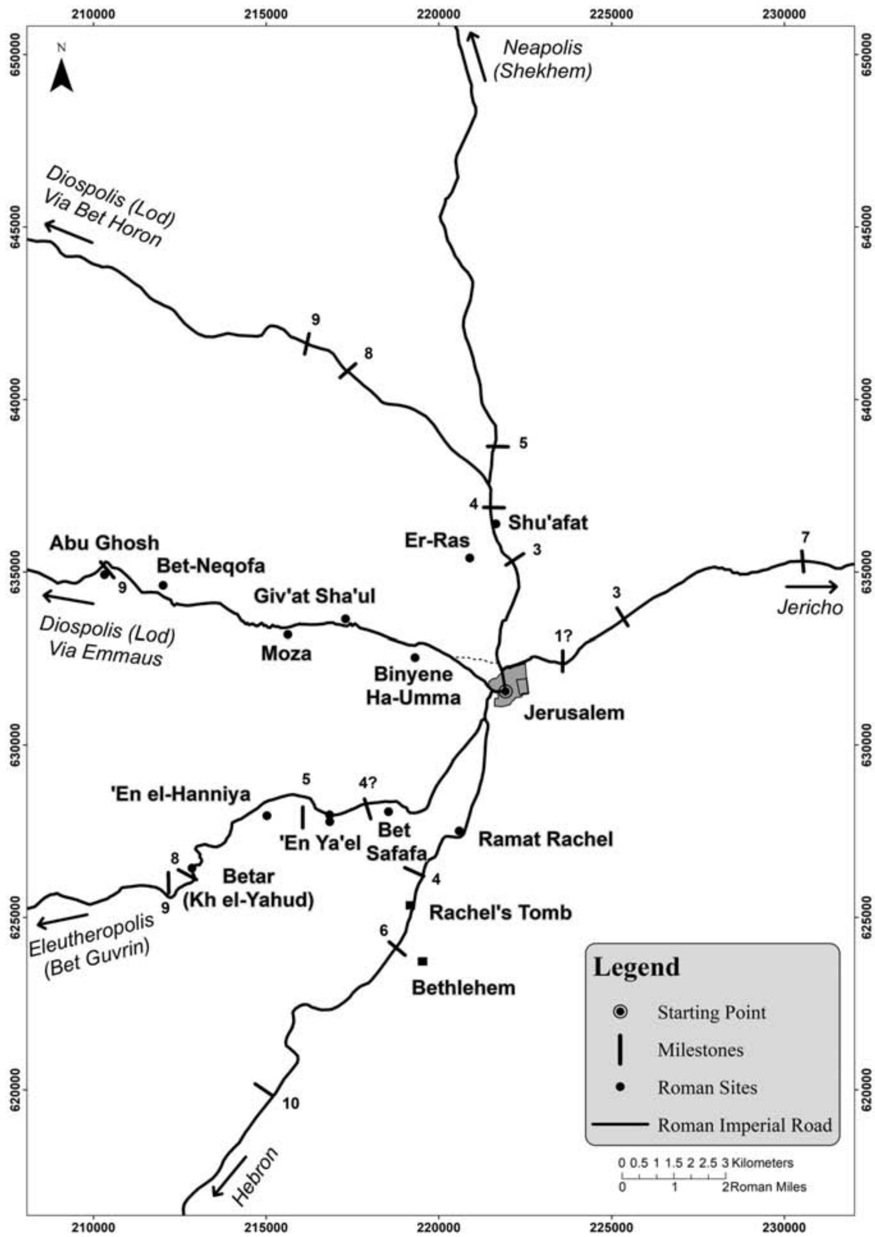

FIGURE 90 The imperial roads leading to Aelia Capitolina
PLAN DRAWING: DANIT LEVI. COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

TABLE 1 Milestones discovered along the routes of Imperial Roads leading to Jerusalem/Aelia Capitolina

Road, destination	**No. of MS, or site discovered (MS = Milestone)**	**Distance of MS from Starting Point (RM)**	**Location (New Israel Grid)**	**Date**	**Distance from Café Bashourah/ Center of City (calculated: 1 RM= mean length of 1500 m)**	**References**
North: Neapolis	2 stones (possibly MS)	**3**	(1) 222150/635350 (2) close to Shuʿfat	(1) Nerva (96–98 CE) (2) Trajan (prob. 111 CE)	2.7 RM (3995 m)	(1) Finn 1868:86. (2) Vincent 1901; Thomsen 1917:75, Nos. 263a, 263a1; Gibson 1995:240
	Non-epigraphic MS	**4**	221600/636900		3.8 RM (5763 m)	Vincent 1901:98; Thomsen 1917:75, No. 262; Avi-Yonah 1954:60, No. 54; Gibson 1995:239–240. Madaba mosaic map: staging-post, *mutation* (*To Tetarton*)
	1 MS	**5**	221800/638600	162 CE Marcus Aurelius	5 RM (7507 m)	Clermont-Ganneau 1898 (I):280–284; Thomsen 1917:74–75, No. 261; Gibson 1995:240.
North West: Diospolis via Beth-Horon	2 MS	**8**	217400/640900		7.9 RM (11,841 m)	Dalaman 1912:18.
		9	216150/641700		8.9 RM (13,376 m)	Kh. El-Latatin; Seligman 2011:308b.

TABLE 1 Milestones discovered along the routes of Imperial Roads leading to Jerusalem (*cont.*)

Road, destination	**No. of MS, or site discovered (MS = Milestone)**	**Distance of MS from Starting Point (RM)**	**Location (New Israel Grid)**	**Date**	**Distance from Café Bashourah/ Center of City (calculated: 1 RM= mean length of 1500 m)**	**References**
West: Diospolis via Emmaus	1 MS	9	Northeast of Abu Ghosh 210300/635000	162 CE Marcus Aurelius	9 RM (13,541 m)	Fischer, Isaac and Roll 1996:293–294.
	1 MS	12	206500/635500 205400/636000		12.5 RM (18,759 m)	Fischer, Isaac and Roll 1996:293.
South West: Eleuthropolis	1 MS	4	Near line of Ottoman railway		4.2 RM (6339 m)	Sejourne 1895:269; Thomsen 1917:80, No. 280.
	1 MS	5	216100/627900 Under Ein Yalu		5.3 RM (7906 m)	Sejourne 1895:269; Thomsen 1917:80, No. 281.
	Nymphaeum Ein Hanniya		215000/627000			Saller 1946:16; *TIR*: 116.
	1 MS	8	212700/626200 Area of Bethar	130 CE Hadrian	8.9 RM (13,357 m)	Germer-Durand 1894; Thomsen 1917:80, No. 282; Isaac 1988b:49.
	3 MS	9	212165/626278	213 CE Caracalla	9.5 RM (14,286 m)	Alt 1927 10: Stiebel et al. 2017:67–69,72, footnote 2

TABLE 1 Milestones discovered along the routes of Imperial Roads leading to Jerusalem (*cont.*)

Road, destination	No. of MS, or site discovered (MS = Milestone)	Distance of MS from Starting Point (RM)	Location (New Israel Grid)	Date	Distance from Café Bashourah/ Center of City (calculated: 1 RM= mean length of 1500 m)	References
South: Hebron	1 MS	4	219300/626300	217 CE Makarinus	4.4 RM (6636 m)	Thomsen 1917:82, No. 295; Deir-Tantur.
	1MS	6	East side of road, beyond the place where it turns left to Bethlehem and right to Bet-Jalla. Site of the Carmelite Monastery. 218799/624069	130 CE Hadrian	6 RM (8935 m)	Germer-Durand 1895:70; Thomsen 1917:82, No. 296.
	1MS	10	215000/620000		10.4 RM (15,610 m)	Thomsen 1917:82–83, No. 297, above Solomon's Pools
East: Jericho	1 MS	1	Near Augusta Victoria 223593/632349		1.7 RM (2532 m)	Thomsen 1917:78, No. 277; Beauvery 1957: Pl. 1.
	Monastery of Theodorus and Cyricus	2	224000/633000		2.2 RM (3292 m)	Seligman 2011b: 312; Amit, Seligman and Zilberbod 2003.

TABLE 1 Milestones discovered along the routes of Imperial Roads leading to Jerusalem (*cont.*)

Road, destination	No. of MS, or site discovered (MS = Milestone)	Distance of MS from Starting Point (RM)	Location (New Israel Grid)	Date	Distance from Café Bashourah/ Center of City (calculated: 1 RM= mean length of 1500 m)	References
	Milestone station, 5 MS	3	Ras ez-Zambi 225385/633660		3.2 RM (4792 m)	Thomsen 1917:79, No. 278.
	MS	7	230000/635100		7 RM (10,498 m)	Ilan 1982; Seligman 2011b.

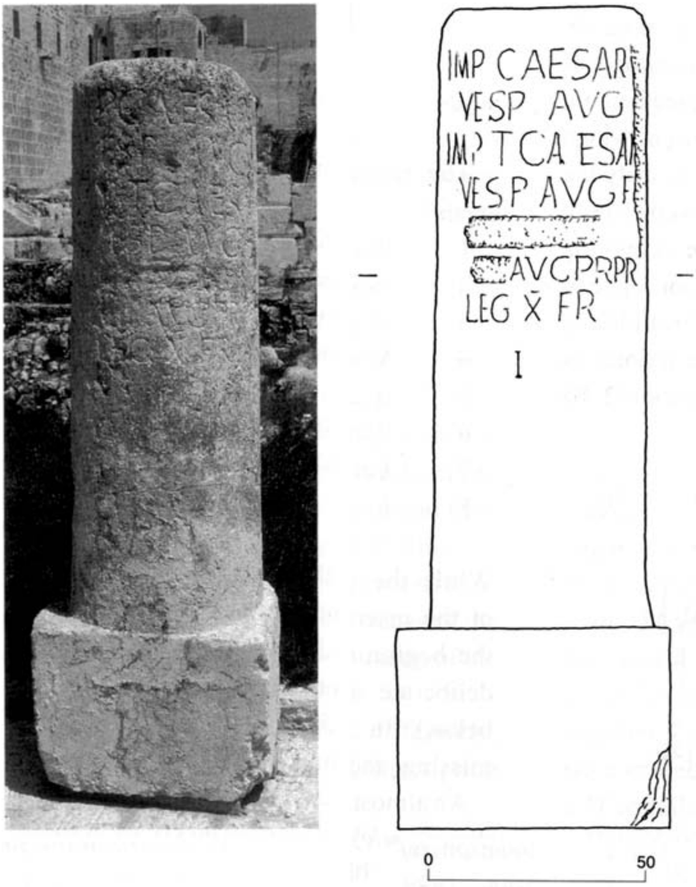

FIGURE 91 Milestone from Jerusalem
AFTER REICH AND BILLIG 2003:243, FIG. 1

the Flavian period (72–79 CE) discovered in Jerusalem bear the names of the emperors Vespasian and Titus, the Tenth Legion Fretensis, and the number 'I', probably indicating that they were placed beside the road one mile away from its starting point (Fig. 91). The name of the commander who erected them was deliberately obliterated.[9] The two stones were discovered incorporated in secondary use in the walls of Umayyad buildings near the southwest corner of the Temple Mount and it is impossible to determine exactly where the stones were originally placed, although it was obviously next to a road that led to the army camp in Jerusalem, possibly a road paved or renovated for military use immediately after 70 CE.

9 Isaac and Gichon 1974; Reich and Billig 2003.

Milestones from Hadrian's reign date to the years 120, 129 and 130 CE. Those dated to 129 and 130 CE are indubitably associated with Hadrian's visit in Judaea, while those dated to 120 CE may be related to the Diaspora Revolt and possible local Jewish rebellion. The decision to rebuild Jerusalem as a Roman city may also have affected the imperial roads as reflected by the milestones.[10]

Twenty-four milestones set along Roman roads in 162 CE are inscribed with the names of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. These stones provide evidence that the country's roads underwent a general overhaul in that year. Seven stones of the above were erected along roads from Jerusalem to Neapolis, Hebron, Bet Guvrin, and Emmaus. Milestones placed along the roads leading to Jerusalem during the Severan Dynasty (in the first half of the third century CE) indicate that this practice was maintained.

The 'Starting Point' of the Imperial Roads

Thirteen milestones discovered near the roads leading to Jerusalem record the starting point as Aelia Capitolina,[11] and other stones name additional cities at main intersections on the network of roads in Eretz Israel: Paneas, Hippos, Scythopolis, Diocaesarea, Ptolemais, Legio, Caesarea, Neapolis, Jaffa, Antipatris, Iamnia, Nicopolis, and Eleutheropolis. As Roll has already remarked, the question to be addressed is where did the measurements begin? Was it from the city gate, or from another point inside the city?[12]

Based on a milestone discovered c. 3 km north of the center of Caesarea and inscribed with a distance of two miles, Roll suggested that the starting point may have been the *tetrapylon* that stood in the city center. Measurements along the roads leading to Scythopolis and Eleutheropolis also indicate that the starting points lay within the cities and in Roll's opinion, the exact points were probably marked on public monuments inside the cities. A number of proposals have been made in the past regarding the starting point for measurement from Jerusalem/Aelia Capitolina. In the opinion of Avi-Yonah and Roll, the roads inside the Roman city of Jerusalem were measured from a column depicted on the Madaba mosaic map in the center of the plaza inside Damascus Gate. The column was presumably erected in honor of one of the emperors, whose statue it bore, and it also marked the outset of the imperial network of roads from the city.[13] Reich and Billig have proposed locating the starting point

10 Weksler-Bdolah 2014b:56–57.

11 See footnote 5, above.

12 Roll 1983:152.

13 Avi-Yonah 1953:147. This suggestion is not repeated in Avi-Yonah 1954:52, where the column is discussed.

at the headquarters of the Tenth Legion Fretensis camp (without specifying an exact spot) while Gibson suggests that it should be sited at the intersection between the Cardo and the Decumanus in the center of the city.[14]

In my opinion, the outset of the measurements must have been connected to the military camp, for the two Flavian milestones discovered in the Robinson Arch area indicate that the Roman army began paving roads immediately after the conquest of Jerusalem in 70 CE.[15] A road that was probably paved or renovated before 130 CE is the Jerusalem–Neapolis road. The monumental inscription in honor of Hadrian's visit to Judaea erected along this road in 130 CE,[16] indicates that the road was already in use at that time.[17] Another road to be mentioned in this context is a local road that was paved at the time. It apparently led from the army camp to the Temple Mount and its eastern segment, discussed above, lay over the northern row of arches in the structure of the Great Causeway, which has recently been dated to the late first–early second centuries CE.[18] The estimated point of intersection of the road leading from the legionary camp to the north and the road that led eastward toward the Temple Mount lies on the site of Café Bashourah in the center of today's Old City and near the junction of its main streets. This point is at the assumed site of the north (main) gate of the Tenth Legion's camp, the remains of which are discussed above. It is not inconceivable, therefore, that the gate structure, or a monument erected in the center of a small square in front of it, served as the starting point for the roads departing from the army camp (Figs. 24, 74, 75).[19]

Once the Roman city was founded, the camp's northern gate was the meeting point of the military camp and the civil colony. It became the crossroads between the Cardo and Decumani of Aelia Capitolina and the camp's *via principalis*. A well-known suggestion places a *tetrapylon* at this junction, where Café Bashourah stands today, adorned with four columns in its center.[20]

In order to validate the suggested identification of the site of Café Bashourah as the 'starting point' of the imperial roads in Jerusalem, we have tried to locate the milestones whose findspots are known along the roads that radiate from

14 Reich and Billig 2003:246; Gibson 1995:239.
15 See above, Isaac and Gichon 1974; Reich and Billig 2003.
16 Avner et al. 2014, and see discussion above.
17 However, the remains of the inscription were not discovered in their original context and the proposal that it was fixed on a monument along the northern road into the city should be considered as one that has not yet been proven.
18 Onn and Weksler-Bdolah 2017:89–90.
19 However, at this stage the proposal is theoretical and cannot be proven.
20 Vincent and Abel 1914:23; Tsafrir 1999a:147, map of Jerusalem in the Roman period and above.

Jerusalem (Fig. 90, Table 1): MS 3, 4, 5 along the northern Jerusalem–Neapolis Road,[21] MS 8, 9 along the northwestern Jerusalem–Diospolis (via Bet Ḥoron) road; MS 9 along the western Jerusalem–Diospolis (via Emmaus) road; MS 4, 5, 8, 9 along the southwestern Jerusalem–Eleutheropolis road; MS 4, 6 along the southern Jerusalem–Hebron road; and MS 3, 7 along the eastern Jerusalem–Jericho road. In mapping the routes of the roads we relied on digitization of the roads marked as 'Roman Road', or 'Ancient Road' in the Map of Western Palestine published by the Palestine Exploration Fund.[22] Of the several routes that were marked around Jerusalem, we highlighted the routes along which most of the milestones were discovered, marking them as imperial roads.[23]

The findspots of milestones in a 10-mile radius around the city were marked on the plan. Distances along the roads were then measured between the findspots of each milestone and the point where all the roads converged (the proposed 'starting point'), using the *ArcGIS Desktop* software.[24] The distance that was measured was then divided into 1482 or 1575 m (the length of the mile used in Palestine), and compared with the number of miles marked on the specific milestone. We also added a calculation of a mean length, where 1 RM = 1500 m (Table 1).

It should be emphasized that the results of our examination lack absolute accuracy due to several methodological difficulties: First, measurements should be made on a road segment that is completely preserved, between two milestones that are located *in situ*[25] but these conditions do not exist in the case of Jerusalem. Most of the milestones were not found *in situ* and the preserved road sections are comparatively small. Another difficulty relates to inaccura-

---

21 Weksler-Bdolah and Levi *in prep*. More milestone stations along this road, at a distance of 6, 7, 9 and 10 miles from Jerusalem were reported along the Jerusalem–Neapolis road (Ben David 2013:209 and references there). We have been unable to locate the exact findspots of these milestones and therefore did not include them in Table 1 and Figure 1 below.

22 Conder and Kitchener 1880, sheets XVII and XVIII. The digitization was prepared by Mrs. Leticia Barda of the Israel Antiquities Authority's Excavations and Survey Unit.

23 Excluding the road from Jerusalem to Eleutheropolis (Beit Guvrin), which we marked along the route passing through the Nahal Refa'im channel, leading to Beitar (Fig. 89, southwestern road). This axis was marked by the PEF's surveyors, but not identified as an 'Ancient Road'. However, since several milestones were found along this route, we marked it as the imperial route. In our reconstruction we also relied on the following reconstructions of the imperial road system around Jerusalem: Roll 1983:139; Tsafrir, Di Segni and Green 1994, Iudaea. Palaestina, Map of Eretz Israel during the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods; Fischer, Isaac and Roll 1996: Figs. 1, 11; Ben-David 2013:208; Kloner, Klein and Zissu 2017: Fig. 1; *inter alia*.

24 By *ESRI* (Environmental Systems Research Institute).

25 Roll 1983:152.

cies in the measurements of the roads by the PEF surveyors from the outset and deviations arising in anchoring the PEF maps by turning them into a digital file (on which the digitization of roads is based). Yet another difficulty relates to the accuracy of the milestones' coordinates, as reported in professional literature since the nineteenth century.[26] Another problem stems from the fact that the length of the mile that was used in Roman Palestine is not known for certain. While the length of a Roman mile was usually 1482 m, in the eastern empire they used the Phileterian or Egyptian mile, which measures 1575 m (above) and to this we can also add that the original Roman measurements may not have been as accurate as one might think.

Taking into consideration the methodological disadvantages listed above—the correlation that was found between the numbers specified on many of the milestones (I, II, III, etc.) and the actual distance that was measured along the roads is impressive. Since this correlation appeared on stones from along all six roads radiating from Jerusalem in different directions it supports, in our opinion, the suggested location of the 'starting point' of the imperial roads in the center of the Old City. Had the starting point been located at Damascus Gate, as was previously suggested, i.e. 550 m (about one third of a mile) north of the Café Bashourah site, the distances measured along the roads would have been shorter on the northern and eastern roads, and longer on the southern and southwestern roads, so that the degree of correlation between the number of miles specified on the milestones and the actual distance measured along the roads would have been less.

In summary, our proposal to identify the starting point of Roman Jerusalem at Café Bashourah, which lies in the center of the Old City of Jerusalem, is based on the assumption that the initial road system that developed around Jerusalem was linked to the military camp established there after the destruction of 70 CE. Archaeological remains in close proximity to the proposed site, the layout of the main streets of Aelia Capitolina around it, and distances measured between the point in question and milestones discovered along the imperial roads leading to Jerusalem also support the proposal.

26 Since all the measurements until about 20 years ago were made on paper maps, with varying precision (and not with the Global Positioning System (GPS)), the deviation sometimes reaches dozens of meters or even more.

Military Sites in the Rural Hinterland of Aelia Capitolina

Military Outposts and Stations

Structures and building inscriptions of military units attest to the presence of soldiers in forts and fortresses along the main roads that led to and from Aelia Capitolina. One such fortress of the early fourth century CE, at Giv'at Sha'ul, overlooked the steep zigzag section known as 'the ascent of the Romans' approximately three Roman miles west of Aelia Capitolina, along the Aelia Capitolina–Emmaus road (Figs. 89, 90).[27] It consisted of a large open courtyard surrounded by rooms with a total area of 16×16 m. Two openings leading to entrance rooms were incorporated in the northern and southern sides of the courtyard. Six large rooms were arranged in pairs along the east side of the courtyard and three rooms were located in the west. Large doorways connected the rooms and the courtyard. In its southwest corner, the fort incorporated a tower from the Hasmonean–Herodian periods. The fortress was dated to the early fourth century CE and was in use during the Late Roman and Byzantine periods.

A building inscription of the Tenth Legion was found further to the west at Abu Ghosh, about nine miles west of Aelia Capitolina. A large water reservoir (16.25×20.70 m) attributed to the Tenth Roman Legion was discovered underneath the Crusader-period church at Abu Ghosh in excavations conducted at the site by de Vaux and Steve in 1941 and 1944.[28] The north wall of the crypt contains a *tabula ansata* in secondary use whose source is unknown, although it probably comes from the immediate vicinity. It bears a Latin inscription that reads, 'A vexillation of the Tenth Legion Fretensis [has built this]'.[29] An entrance is incorporated in the north wall of the reservoir, from where two staircases (now part of the Crusader crypt) lead down to a spring. Based on the inscription, the archaeologists who excavated the crypt estimated that the reservoir was from the first–third centuries CE. They recorded numerous pottery fragments from the fifth century and earlier.

Remains of a Byzantine fortress were examined at Horvat Mezad, near the thirteenth mile along the road leading westward from Jerusalem to Diospolis via Emmaus.[30] An earlier building at the site was used as a road station during the Hasmonean and Herodian periods and contained no Late Roman remains.

---

27 Kh. al Atrash (Giv'at Sha'ul) 167400/133600 *OIG*, (667400/183600 *NIG*); see Tzaferis 1974; Fischer, Isaac and Roll 1996:124–125.

28 de Vaux and Steve 1950; Fischer, Isaac and Roll 1996 116–117.

29 *CIIP* 1.2, 722, and see: chapter 2, note 7, above.

30 Fischer, Isaac and Roll 1996:212–216.

A milestone dating from 162 CE and bearing the name of the emperor Marcus Aurelius attests to renovation of the road in this year (the milestone was employed in secondary use in the Byzantine citadel). The soil deposited over the Herodian road station contained a coin minted in Ashqelon in 66/67 CE with a Tenth Legion Fretensis countermark, and two Nabatean coins from the reign of Rabbel II (70–76 CE). The coins may have belonged to Roman soldiers patrolling the road after the year 70 CE.

A Military (?) Water Device near the Western Road

A number of ancient waterworks were found near springs in the area surrounding Abu Ghosh. An excavation at the spring of ʿEin Naqaʿa uncovered a reservoir and a series of stone-built channels that belong to a water system.[31] The remains were dated to the first century CE and are interpreted as being associated with an encampment of a Roman legion in the area. Recent excavations within the village of Bet Neqofa uncovered yet another system of water channels that apparently diverted water from two small nearby springs. This system, which was dated to the Second Temple period, remained in use throughout the legion's occupation (second–third centuries CE).[32]

The installations and the waterworks attest to the army's presence along the road, probably in order to ensure the security of travelers (military units, merchant convoys) and to maintain the infrastructure and upkeep of the roads.

A Military Workshop for Pottery and Building Materials

A unique military site along the western road is the pottery workshop of the Tenth Roman Legion, whose remains were discovered in the area of Binyanei Ha-Umma and cover an estimated area of 1.7 hectares. The site, which is known by several names (Givʿat Ram, Sheikh Badr, The Jerusalem International Convention Center [Binyanei Ha-Umma], and the Crowne Plaza Hotel), is located on the broad rocky hill immediately south of the Aelia Capitolina–Emmaus–Diospolis road, about two Roman miles west of the Roman city (Figs. 89, 90). Interestingly, the site is far from any sources of water (the closest spring, in Lifta, is about 1 km to the northwest), but it nevertheless served as the main production center for pottery vessels in the area of Jerusalem for more than 300 years—from the mid-second century BCE until well into the time of Aelia Capitolina. The remains uncovered at the site indicate that production ceased around 200 CE.[33] The excavations unearthed kilns, settling pools and installa-

31 Storchan 2016 and references there.

32 Be'eri 2015.

33 See chapter 2, note 113. Extensive excavations were conducted at the site by M. Avi-Yonah in

tions associated with the manufacture of pottery vessels and building materials: Bricks, rooftiles, and water pipes. In the northern part of the site, remains of residential buildings discovered together with courtyards and water installations, including ritual baths, were identified as the potters' village.

It is assumed that a unit of the Tenth Legion was regularly stationed at the site. Its location on a high point enabled it to maintain control over the road. This, and a long-standing technological tradition of pottery production by the village's inhabitants, were probably among the main reasons for the continuation of pottery production at the site despite the dramatic events of 70 CE. Recent excavations conducted by Danit Levi and Ron Be'eri show that Jewish potters continued to manufacture pottery for the Roman army in the first years after the conquest of the city. However, there was a significant change in the types of vessels that were produced in the workshop. Prior to 70 CE, mainly cooking utensils were manufactured whereas after 70 CE the main products were building materials, tiles, bricks and ceramic pipes, many of which were stamped with the mark of the Tenth Roman Legion (Fig. 92).

Settlements and Residential Buildings

Moẓa/Colonia: A Settlement along the Western Road

Many identify the village of Colonia near Tel Moẓa, about four miles west of the Old City of Jerusalem, with the lands granted by the emperor to 800 veterans, as implied by Josephus (Jos. *BJ* 7:216–217).[34] Segments of partially preserved buildings and installations belonging to several construction phases dating from the Roman period were recently unearthed in salvage excavations.[35] The ear-

1949 and again in 1968 (Avi-Yonah 1950); Arubas and Goldfus excavated a large area in the 1990s (Arubas and Goldfus 2005, 2008a); R. Avner, K. Ben-Or and D. Levy unearthed wasters and remains of the Hasmonean kilns in the southern part of the site and the remains of the potters village in the north (Preliminary Report on the New Salvage Excavations near Binyene Ha-Uma, reported in the proceedings of the Thirty-Third Archaeological Congress in Israel. Jerusalem, 2007, p. 12). R. Be'eri and D. Levi worked in the Crowne Plaza area between the years 2009–2010 and D. Levi worked there in 2017–2018. For summaries of the finds, see Arubas and Goldfus 2005:11–16, 2008a; Levi and Be'eri 2011, *inter alia*, and references there.

34 Fischer, Isaac and Roll 1996:225–227.

35 Since 2017, salvage excavations directed by Hamudi Khalaily and Jacob Vardi on behalf of the Israel Antiquities Authority have been conducted at the site. I thank them and Annette Landes-Nagar, Irina Zilberbod, Rachel Bar-Nathan and Itamar Taxel for the information concerning the Roman-period remains (based on: Information on Excavations during the week between 10–21.2.2019 (*unpublished*), Israel Antiquities Authority, No. 0419).

FIGURE 92 Tiles stamped with the stamp of the Tenth Legion Fretensis (LEXFR) from Danit Levi's excavations in Binyanei Ha-Umma
PHOTO: S. WEKSLER-BDOLAH; COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

liest stratum includes the remains of a well-planned settlement dated to the late first–early second centuries CE. Above it are the remains of a residential building or villa from the second–third centuries. During the last phase of construction, in the fourth century, various work areas were prepared, including an olive press, a wine press, a pottery workshop and the remains of another industrial installation. Previous excavations at the site exposed remains of walls and four cist tombs from the Roman period, a short distance south of the remains listed above.[36] The walls of the cist tombs were built of six stone slabs (0.5×0.5 m) with four slabs (average size 0.4×0.6 m) covering and sealing the rectangular tomb. On the slopes of Tel Moẓa, approximately 500 m to the northwest, remains of buildings decorated with wall paintings and mosaic floors,[37] and remains of a bathhouse from the Roman period have been documented.[38] Rooms belonging to a Late Roman–Early Byzantine-period building were also unearthed.[39] The finds indicate that it was a large building with colorful frescos on the walls and with mosaic floors in a variety of sizes and designs. The building's plan suggests that it consisted of long rooms arranged around an open courtyard in a layout that is typical of buildings such as villas or farmhouses.

36 Mizrahi 2015.
37 Eisenberg 1975.
38 Press 1952:558; Barag 1967 267, note 105.
39 Greenhut and De Groot 2009:5–6; Kisilevitz et al. 2014.

Shuʿfaṭ

A unique, apparently planned Jewish settlement unearthed at Shuʿfat was established north of Jerusalem immediately after 70 CE and abandoned around 130 CE, before the outbreak of the Bar Kokhba Revolt.[40] The site is located along the northern, Jerusalem–Neapolis road between the third and fourth miles, near Tel el-Ful (biblical Givʿat Sha'ul) at the fork of the road leading northwest toward Diospolis via Bet Ḥoron. A long narrow strip (length 506 m and width 8 m) was excavated. The remains included residential buildings with ritual baths and stone and pottery vessels characteristic of the Jewish population during the Second Temple period. Fifteen structures (*insulae*) of different sizes (over 10 m) separated by narrow east–west streets were discovered at the site. Two bathhouses and a portion of a public building were unearthed in its northern section. The site was abandoned in an organized manner, manifested by the deliberate sealing of the buildings' doors and the burial of coin caches, which indicate a hurried departure and the hope of returning. In some of the buildings, however, the remains of a fire were discovered, attesting to deliberate destruction. The latest coin, which was found on the floor of an alley, was minted in 129/130 CE.[41] The excavators concluded that the site was abandoned before the Bar Kokhba Revolt and did not participate in the rebellion and proposed identifying the site as an urban Jewish settlement established by the Roman authorities, perhaps for a Jewish aristocracy from Jerusalem who did not participate in the Great Revolt. The site's economy was presumably based on supplying food to Roman soldiers and services to those traveling along the road. The presence in the site of coins countermarked by the Tenth Legion and other finds attest to administrative and commercial relations between the settlement at Shuʿfat and the headquarters of the Tenth Legion in Jerusalem.

Betar, Khirbet el-Yahud

The site of Khirbet el-Yahud is located on a mountain spur surrounded by Nahal Refa'im on three sides, about eight Roman miles southwest of Aelia Capitolina along the road to Eleutheropolis. It is identified with Betar, the last stronghold

40 Sklar-Parnes, Rapuano and Bar-Nathan 2004; Bar-Nathan and Sklar-Parnes 2007; Bijovsky 2007; Reich, Amit and Bar-Nathan 2014; Adler 2017:112–114, Bar-Nathan and Bijovsky 2018, and references there.

41 An extremely important find from the site is a worn coin of Hadrian from the floor of a room in Insula 9 depicting the foundation of the colony of Aelia Capitolina (see above). Insula 9, like the other structures, was abandoned before the onset of the revolt. The archaeological context proves that Aelia Capitolina was founded—and began minting coins—before the outbreak of the Bar Kokhba Revolt (Bar-Nathan and Bijovsky 2018).

of Bar Kokhba.[42] Most of the remains belong to the second-century CE Bar Kokhba period, including a wall along the site's outer circumference. The wall is built in a haphazard way and has rounded tower-like protrusions on its outer face as well as the foundations of a square tower. Ussishkin concludes that the wall was built hastily while the Romans were besieging the site. Slingshots and two arrowheads characteristic of the second-century Bar Kokhba rebels discovered inside the wall are associated with the battle that raged there. The finds included the stumps of earlier walls as well as one whose outer face was built of ashlar stones dressed with wide, smoothed margins around crudely worked bosses. Such architecture is typical of the Roman period. Pottery recovered from two excavation areas near the wall shows that the site was inhabited from the end of the Second Temple period until the Bar Kokhba Revolt.[43] It was subsequently abandoned and there is no evidence that it was ever reoccupied. The nature of the settlement in the period preceding the Bar Kokhba Revolt is unknown. Ussishkin estimates that the site was fortified even earlier than the revolt.

Remains of the Roman offensive discovered around the site included a circumvallation siege wall preserved to the north and west and partly to the east, and military camps.[44] The wall crossed Nahal Refa'im to the east of the site, possibly cutting it off from the spring that provided it with water. Beside the spring, a Latin building inscription cut into the rock mentions *vexillarii* of two legions, '*legionis* V *Mac*[edonicae] *et* XI *Cl*[audiae]'.[45] The inscription is shaped like a rectangular tablet with a frame and holds six lines, the first of which are almost complete effaced. Several researchers have proposed dating the inscription to the Bar Kokhba Revolt in view of the findspot, at the entrance to a water channel near Betar. The building raised by the *vexillarii* of the two legions may well have been the water channel which provided water to the troops participating in the siege of Betar. To the south of the site, two military camps were built: A west camp, A (c. 218×380 m) and an east one, B (c. 198×133 m). At a distance varying from c. 1.5 to 4 km south and east of camps A and B, four other hill-top

42 The site has been surveyed and investigated since the nineteenth century (Clermont-Ganneau 1899:463–470; Carrol 1923–1924; see Tsafrir, Di Segni, and Green 1994 (*TIR*):86–87). A trial excavation was conducted at the site in 1984, directed by Ussishkin. See Ussishkin 1993, 2008 and references there. See also Ben David 2013:211–213; Stiebel et al. 2017; *CIIP* vol. 4: Iudaea/Idumaea, part 1, pp. 597–604.

43 Singer 1993.

44 Kennedy and Riley 1990:100–104.

45 *CIIP* 4, 3198. The inscription was originally seen and published by Clermont-Ganneau in 1894.

camps (C, D, E, F) were identified during the archaeological survey.[46] The total siege force, if all the camps were contemporary, may have been 10,000–12,000 troops—an enormous force in keeping with the status and notoriety of the site and its role in the final phase of the war.

Two Roman Villas along the Jerusalem–Eleutheropolis Road

The remains of two Roman villas were partly exposed opposite each other on the northern and southern banks of Refa'im Valley, approximately four Roman miles from the city along the Jerusalem–Bet Guvrin (Eleutheropolis) road. The southern villa is located on the slope of the valley, near the spring of ʿEn Yaʿel.[47] The villa consists of a residential building and two bathhouses on lower terraces. A *triclinium* preceded by a vestibule was unearthed in the residential building. The walls of the hall, preserved to a height of c. 1m, were decorated with a colorful fresco depicting human figures, flowers, and geometric motifs as well as magnificent stucco. The floor was made of colored mosaic (Fig. 93A). In the center of the *triclinium* is a marble slab that formed the base of a water basin or a fountain surrounded by a mosaic carpet decorated with mythological figures, fish and birds. Lead pipes below the floor indicate that the fountain received water from the nearby spring. The vestibule floor was decorated with four medallions with figures representing the four seasons (Fig. 93B). An illegible Greek inscription was incorporated in the floor. Tiles and bricks in the building and in the bathhouses were marked with the stamp of the Tenth Legion Fretensis (Fig. 94).

Sections of two rooms belonging to another Roman villa (the northern villa) were unearthed along the north bank of Nahal Refa'im, about 300–400 m north of the villa of ʿEn Yaʿel (ʿAin Yalo) and on the other side of the stream.[48] Remains of a courtyard surrounded by rooms were partly exposed nearby a few years later.[49]

46 Kochavi 1972:24, Kennedy and Riley 1990:103–104.

47 The spring's Arabic name is ʿAin Yalo, after which the site was named ʿEin Yaʿel; see Edelstein 1990, 1993; Roussin 1995, Talgam 2014. Recently, the Hebrew name of the spring was changed to ʿEn Yaʿal.

48 Weksler-Bdolah 2007a, 2016; for the wall paintings, see Rozenberg 2016; for the mosaic floor, and for its description below, see Talgam 2014:48–49, 2016; for the coins, see Ariel 2016. The villa was very poorly preserved and following the excavation, the mosaic floor was transferred from the site by the Israel Antiquities Authority to an archaeological display in the Knesset (Israel parliament) courtyard.

49 Avner 2015. It is possible that the remains of these two structures were originally connected, but no physical connection between the two parts was preserved to confirm such a reconstruction.

FIGURE 93A ʿEn Yaʿel: The Southern Villa, mosaic floor
COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

FIGURE 93B
ʿEn Yaʿel: The Southern Villa, mosaic floor
COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

FIGURE 94 ʿEn Yaʿel: Lower bath house in the Southern Villa, bricks marked with the stamp of the Tenth Legion Fretensis. Retrieved in excavations directed by David Amit

PHOTO: CLARA AMIT; COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

FIGURE 95A ʿEn Yaʿel: The Northern Villa, mosaic floor with two panels. Looking north
PHOTO: MARIANNA SALZBERGER; COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

FIGURE 95B ʿEn Yaʿel: The Northern Villa, mosaic floor with two panels. Looking east
PHOTO: MARIANNA SALZBERGER; COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

FIGURE 95C
ʻEn Yaʻel: The Northern Villa, mosaic floor with two panels. Southern panel of mosaic with *xenia* motifs, looking north
PHOTO: MARIANNA SALZBERGER; COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

FIGURE 95D ʻEn Yaʻel: The Northern Villa, mosaic floor with two panels. Northern panel of mosaic adorned with intersecting four-petal white rosettes that join to form a continuous pattern of circles on a red background, looking east
PHOTO: MARIANNA SALZBERGER; COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

The southern room of the northern villa (interior dimensions 3.2 × 3.2 m) had a spacious entrance (1.4 m wide) facing the river valley to its south. The room's walls were decorated with colored murals and its floor contained two colorful mosaic panels (Figs. 95A–D). The main panel depicted a variety of foods—a couple of artichokes (or pinecones), a giant mussel, and a fish—representing *xenia*, gastronomical gifts to guests served as appetizers in the first course of a Roman dinner (Fig. 95C).

Based on the style of the mosaic floors and the remnants of their wall paintings, both villas were dated to the third century CE. It is possible that the patrons of the villas were Roman soldiers or veterans who received a plot of land after their release from the army. The mosaics, and the Greek inscription, exhibit a synthesis of eastern and western characteristics typical of the Roman East during that period.

The Roman Villa of Ramat Raḥel, along the Jerusalem–Hebron Road

Remains of another Roman villa, dated to the second or third century CE, were unearthed at Ramat Raḥel, about five Roman miles south of the city along the Aelia Capitolina–Hebron road (Fig. 89). The residential unit consisted of a peristyle courtyard with rooms around it. Some 30 m east of the building, remains of a bathhouse with mosaic floors, a hypocaust and water pools were discovered. Ceramic tiles and pipes with the stamp of the Tenth Legion Fretensis were discovered in the bathhouse. Aharoni suggested that the remains indicated a military presence at the site and dated them to the second half of the third century CE. Lipschits et al. dated the remains to the second century and suggested they belonged to a rural Roman villa.[50] However, third–fourth-century glass bottles found inside some of the shaft tombs in the settlement's cemetery (below) indicate that the site was still inhabited at that time.

A rare find from this site is a small lead *bulla* (11 mm diam.) inscribed with the name '*Imperator Hadrianus Augustus*'.[51] The *bulla* probably signed a letter sent by Hadrian to a person of high rank in the army or in the Roman administration, who was either the owner of the private estate or someone staying in the military unit stationed at Ramat Raḥel.

A Villa on Shuʿfaṭ Ridge, Kh. Er-Ras

A building uncovered and identified as a *villa rustica* is located on the summit of the Shuʿfaṭ ridge, about one mile west of the route of the northern, Jerusalem–

---

50 Aharoni 1964:121; Lipschits et al. 2017:130–138, and references there.

51 *CIIP* 1.2, 753; Farhi and Lipschits 2009, Lipschits et al. 2017:131–132.

Neapolis road (Figs. 89; 96A, B).[52] It follows a meticulous square plan (25×25 m) with a large rectangular projection (8×12 m) in the center of its west side. The villa contained a central peristyle courtyard with square rooms arranged symmetrically around it. The walls were preserved to a height of several courses, although few surviving floors were detected. The excavator, Alexander Onn, identified the building as a *villa rustica* built between the second and the fourth centuries CE. It was abandoned at the beginning of the fifth century CE and resettled in the sixth–seventh centuries CE, when the structure was repaired and reused as a farm building and large wine and olive presses were installed. A later date for the initial construction of the *villa rustica*, possibly in the fourth or early fifth century, was proposed by Seligman and Weksler-Bdolah following a re-examination of the finds.

Rural Cemeteries

At Beit Tsafafa and at Manaḥat, in the vicinity of the rural villas at Nahal Refa'im, and at Ramat Raḥel, cemeteries with dozens of shaft tombs were exposed that may have been used by the population in the periphery of Aelia Capitolina (Fig. 89, 90).

Manaḥat

A lead coffin discovered in a shaft grave in Manaḥat (southwest of the city) contained the skeletons of two male individuals, about 35 and 25 years of age lying in opposite directions—one with his skull in the west and the other with his skull in the east. The skeletons were accompanied by burial goods consisting of numerous items of bone and gold jewelry, including earrings, beads, and gold strands still threaded with beads that were once part of a gold-embroidered garment.[53] According to Rahmani, the earrings may have belonged to wives of the deceased and been placed in the grave during the burial ceremony. The gold embroidery with which the garment was embellished probably indicates an Iranian influence and contact with trade centers such as the cities of Palmyra and Dura-Europos. The individuals may have been Roman legionaries or auxiliaries who came from that region.

52 Onn, Weksler-Bdolah, Seligman and Rapuano 2016.
53 Gath and Rahmani 1977.

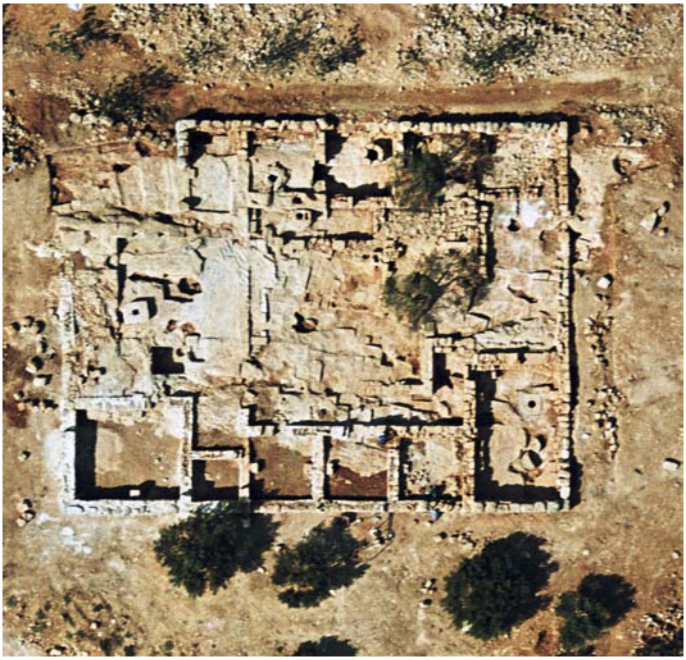

FIGURE 96A *Villa rustica* in the Shuʿfat ridge: Aerial View
PHOTO: OFEK AERIAL PHOTO, SEPTEMBER 1991; COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

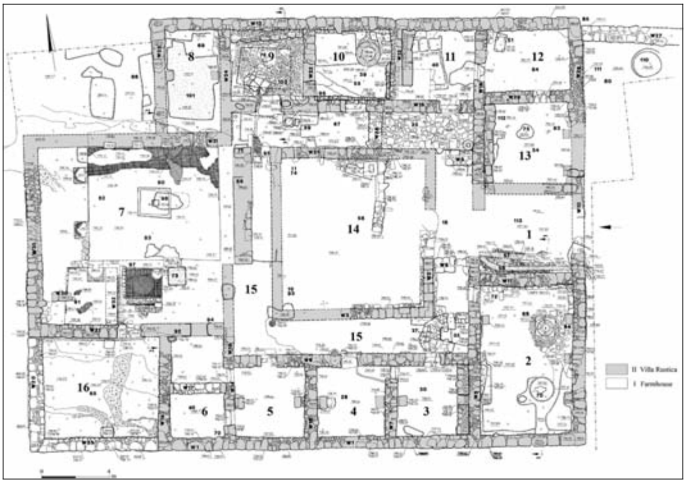

FIGURE 96B *Villa rustica* in the Shuʿfat ridge: plan of the house
AFTER: ONN ET AL. 2016:125, FIG. 3*; SURVEY: AVRAHAM HAJIAN; COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

A Rural Cemetery at Beit Tsafafa

Dozens of cist burials have been discovered approximately 4.5 km (c. 3 miles) southwest of Jerusalem on the Jerusalem–Bet Guvrin (Eleutheropolis) road.[54] Some were excavated in 1996 and some in 2012–2014. Zissu and Moyal excavated 41 of 49 burials documented but estimated that the site contained dozens more. Scores of other burials were examined in Landes-Nagar's excavations. All are of the cist grave type. Some were hewn on a north–south and some on an east–west axis. Most had a rectangular hewn shaft (0.6 × 2.2 m, 1.5–2.5 m deep) and a burial cell covered with horizontal stone slabs at the bottom. Some of the burial cells were hewn beside the bottom of the shaft and covered with diagonally placed stone slabs. In a number of instances, burials were discovered on two levels. Most of the burials contained a single articulated individual and a few had two individuals.

Grave goods recovered from a number of the burials included glass bottles and a glass bracelet dating from the Late Roman period. The burials excavated by Landes-Nagar yielded intact glass vessels and a few intact oil lamps of the round Roman type with a large filling hole, which date mainly from the third–fourth centuries CE. A coin dating from 312 CE discovered at the foot of one of the deceased supports the Late Roman date of the cemetery.[55]

Iron nails and fragments of wood in one of the graves attest to the use of a wooden coffin and a ball of lead was discovered in another. In one of the burials, Zissu and Moyal found an empty, undecorated stone ossuary with a flat lid of a type characteristic of the secondary burial of Jews in the Second Temple period. In their opinion, the *necropolis* was used for Jewish burials in the Late Second Temple period or during the Bar Kokhba Revolt, whereas Landes-Nagar interprets it as a Late Roman *necropolis*. In Landes-Nagar's opinion, the ossuary was reused and came from a rock-hewn cave dating to the Second Temple period located nearby and c. 30 m north of the Roman cemetery. The type and style of the burials and the accompanying small finds suggest that this was a Late Roman *necropolis* used for pagan, not Jewish burial. Landes-Nagar and others suggest that it was a burial place for people from the wealthy estates found along Nahal Refa'im (described above).[56]

---

54 Zissu and Moyal 1998; Nagar A. 2015; Landes-Nagar 2016.

55 Landes-Nagar, *pers. comm.* The final excavation report (in the *'Atiqot* series) has not yet been published. However, the excavator, Annette Landes-Nagar, presented and discussed the finds in a research seminar held at the Israel Antiquities Authority and I thank her for permission to present the finds here.

56 For a general assessment of the number of burials belonging to one extended family, over a generation or two, see four family burial caves from the Late Second Temple period (first

The Cemetery of Ramat Raḥel

A cemetery with dozens of dug or hewn shaft burials was discovered in the northwest part of the site (above). Fifty-six burials of this type were documented by the second excavation team, which identified additional burials that had not been recognized in the earlier excavation. Most were aligned on a north–south axis and some lay from east to west. The burials were dug or hewn to a depth of c. 2 m and measured 1.5–2 m long and 0.5 m wide. A rectangular or elongated oval burial cell (c. 0.5 m deep) sealed with stone slabs inserted into grooves hewn in the sides was installed in the lower part. Some burials were dug into the ground and lined with stones. The graves contained articulated skeletons (usually one and sometimes two individuals facing each other). The grave goods recovered from some of them included glass bottles, jewelry (gold earrings, rings), bone pins, a bone statuette and nails, all of which enable the burials to be dated to the third–fourth centuries. One grave (dimensions 0.5 × 1.1 m) yielded a small lead coffin (0.8 m long, 0.5 m wide, 0.3 m high) containing the teeth of a two-year-old infant girl, a gold earring, and iron nails that suggest that the lead coffin was placed inside a wooden one (which was not preserved).[57] Kochavi's excavations exposed a third-century assemblage of vessels that included typical Roman glass vessels and pottery oil lamps in a Second Temple-period *kokh*-type burial cave. Kochavi believed that this was a Jewish burial from the third century CE.[58] However, Ras, Gadot and Lipschits interpret this as secondary use of a Second Temple family burial-cave in the Late Roman period, when the Romans removed some of the original ossuaries from the cave (a concentration of ossuary fragments was discovered nearby). A similar phenomenon of earlier burial caves being reused for later Roman burial has been discovered at the northern and southern *necropoleis* of Aelia Capitolina (e.g., at the Tombs of the Kings, Ketef Hinnom and Akeldama, see above).

Road Stations

The Spring of ʿEin el-Hanniya

The ʿEin el-Hanniya spring is located on the south bank of Nahal Refa'im beside the Jerusalem–Eleutheropolis road and c. 1500 m west of ʿEn Yaʿel (Fig. 97). The

century BCE–first century CE) excavated on Mount Scopus, where the remains of at least 147 individuals were discovered (37 in Cave A, 15 in Cave B, 59 in Cave C, and 37 in Cave D). Weksler-Bdolah 1998:161–163; Arieli 1998.

57 Ras, Gadot and Lipschits 2013:247; Ras 2017:133–135.

58 Kochavi 1964:80–81.

FIGURE 97 ʿEin el-Hanniya: The nymphaeum
PHOTO: BOAZ ZISSU 2013; COURTESY OF BOAZ ZISSU

spring still emerges from two small cavities hewn in the limestone rock. Recent excavations at the site uncovered a system of channels that carried the water from the spring to a structure resembling a Roman nymphaeum and a large pool approximately 90–100 m northwest of the spring. Remains of further pools and buildings were also excavated (below).[59]

Some 50 m northwest of the spring stands an apsidal nymphaeum-like structure built of ashlars. The water reached it via an aqueduct and flowed through it to a small pool on its façade. The building was recorded by nineteenth-century travelers and explorers.[60] The façade of the building faces northwest toward the road that ran along Nahal Refa'im. The structure contains a semi-circular apsidal niche (2.3 m diameter) flanked on either side with flat pilasters. In the nineteenth century, the pilasters stood 2.85 m high and supported Corinthian capitals.[61] A small conch niche (0.9 m high, 0.45 m wide, 0.3 m deep) is set in the center of the apse, on both sides of which are pilasters with carved bases

59 Zilberbod 2014; Baruch and Zilberbod 2015; Klein 2011:290–291.
60 Robinson 1867:265–266, *inter alia*.
61 *SWP* III: 59–60. The Corinthian capital exposed by Mizrahi (Mizrahi 2005) may be one of the capitals that adorned the pilasters.

and simple capitals. The shell-shaped top of the niche is surmounted by an arched lintel and may have been designed to contain a statue. Many scholars interpret the structure as a Roman nymphaeum built in connection with the nearby road.[62] Recent excavations have yielded no clear finds to corroborate this, but its architectural style and its location beside the Roman road support the Roman-period date and the interpretation of the structure as a public fountain. If a statue of a god was placed in the niche, the site may also have served as a place of worship. Its proximity to the Roman estates discovered in the vicinity of ʿEn Yaʿel (above) supports a Roman date, when travelers were clearly using the road. To the west of the spring, between it and the nymphaeum, the remains of a peristyle courtyard with a central pool surrounded by covered porticoes (1.0–1.2 m wide) have been unearthed. Rooms to the east and west of the pool were only partially excavated. A residential unit on the southwest side of the pool contained a square central courtyard and surrounding rooms. The remains date from the Byzantine–Islamic periods and may have been linked to a basilica from the same time that was previously excavated to the east of the spring. According to Baruch and Zilberbod, the site probably contained a monastery.[63]

62 Tsafrir, Di Segni and Green 1994 116; Klein 2011:290; Baruch and Zilberbod 2015:205–207, *inter alia*.

63 For the basilica, see Baramki 1934; Baruch and Zilberbod 2015:204.

CHAPTER 8

The City and Its Population 70 CE–c. 400 CE: Discussion and Summary

From Jerusalem to Aelia Capitolina—Aspects of Change and Continuity

As previously described, the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in 70 CE opened up a new era in the city's history. The large, Jewish city with the colossal Temple Mount and the Jewish Temple was destroyed and a military camp of the Tenth Roman Legion established on part of the ruins. In around 130 CE, Hadrian founded a new city next to the military camp and named it Aelia Capitolina. Aelia Capitolina was smaller in size than Jerusalem and had a completely different layout, following the traditional Roman orthogonal design. The inhabitants of Aelia Capitolina were soldiers and veterans of the Tenth Legion and other camp followers. Jews were not allowed to enter the city and Latin replaced Hebrew or Aramaic as the city's official language. Greek and Latin were commonly spoken. The city's religious life revolved around Greco-Roman cults and traditions. The result was that the city plan, the daily life and the burial practices of the inhabitants of Aelia Capitolina were completely different from those of their Jewish predecessors during the Second Temple period.

The archaeological finds clearly express the distinct change that took place in Jerusalem after 70 CE. Below is a thematic discussion on a limited number of subjects, illustrating the contribution of archaeological research to the study of the many facets of cultural change.

Urban Topography

Remains of quarries, buildings and ritual baths that have been discovered throughout Jerusalem indicate that during the First and the Second Temple Periods, before the first century CE, quarries and structures were adapted to the natural topography (that is, to the axis of the hills upon which the town was built) and their orientation is usually diagonal to the main axes. This is evident, for example, in the Upper City (the area of the Jewish Quarter today),[1] on the lower slopes of the Western Hill (the Western Wall Plaza today, Fig. 44, above)[2]

1 Geva 2000b: Fig. 1.3.
2 Weksler-Bdolah and Rosenthal-Heginbottom 2014:46, Fig. 4.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2020 | DOI:10.1163/9789004417076_009

and south of the Temple Mount.[3] A similar phenomenon (i.e., the diagonal orientation of the buildings) was recently documented in the Wilson's Arch area, west of the Western Wall of the Temple Mount.[4]

Unlike the Herodian city, which had evolved naturally over hundreds of years, the Roman city was built within a very short time following an orderly plan adapted to the orthogonal system. This plan, consisting mainly of straight streets, was arranged along parallel and perpendicular axes and largely ignored the natural landscape. It incorporated the remains of a few ancient structures such as the huge *temenos* of the Temple Mount and the three towers in the area of Jaffa Gate. The construction of the new Roman city reshaped the urban topography. New roads were paved, ruins of earlier buildings were dismantled or covered over so that they were no longer visible, and the natural rock was cut through according to the new urban plan.

The steep cliffs formed by cutting the routes for the city's main streets reflect the immense effort involved in shaping the new urban layout. One such cliff face delineates the Eastern Cardo (Fig. 37, above). Another cliff runs along the north side of the Via Dolorosa, identified as the Northern Decumanus (Fig. 64, above), while a third rock-cut cliff on the western side of the Western Cardo, in the street's southern part, was dated to the Byzantine period (see above, pp. 69–71).

With the Christianization of the city in the fourth century it began to expand southward, beyond the limits of the Roman city. The southeastern residential quarter reflects a process of spontaneous, organic growth in a typical Byzantine urban mode formerly described as 'comfortable disorder' and discussed above.[5] The picture that emerges from the Madaba map, where no streets are portrayed in the southern part of the city and the buildings are arranged quite haphazardly, also supports this impression.

Building Materials and Pottery in Daily Use

The most significant innovation brought to Jerusalem by the Roman army after 70 CE was the manufacture and extensive use of bricks, roof tiles, and ceramic pipes in the military and civil architecture, as discussd above. In addition, the pottery vessels that were used daily by the city's residents changed completely, with new forms of vessels introduced by the Roman army.[6] Another innovation of Roman construction was the use of imported marble in the dec-

3 Reich 1990 218; see also Bieberstein-Bloedhorn 1994 (*TAVO*): Karte II.
4 Onn, Weksler-Bdolah and Bar-Nathan 2011; Patrich and Weksler-Bdolah 2016; Uziel, Lieberman and Solomon 2017.
5 Chapter 4, Tsafrir 1999b 298–299.
6 See Magness 1993, 2005; Rosenthal-Heginbottom 2015, 2017, and references there.

oration of buildings and streets throughout the city—most commonly marble columns and capitals, or marble sculptures. Marble is not naturally found in Israel and it only began to be imported to Jerusalem after 70 CE. Another feature that distinguishes Roman from Herodian architecture is the use of monolithic columns (such as those discovered along the Eastern Cardo) unlike those of the Second Temple period, which were composed of a number of stone sections. The use of 'new' building materials and methods enables us to identify structures that were established in Jerusalem after 70 CE.

Burial Practices

Toward the end of the Second Temple period, a vast *necropolis* outside Jerusalem with more than a thousand burial complexes surrounded the city in a radius extending at least 3.5 km.

The inner circle of burials included magnificent funerary complexes and rock-hewn mausoleums such as the tombs known as Tomb of Absalom, the Cave of Jehoshaphat, the Tomb of the Sons of Hezeer, and the Tomb of Zechariah.[7] However, most of the burials are in family *kokh*-type caves where primary burial in *kokhim* hewn into the sides of the cave was customary, followed by later collection of the bones (after about a year) when they were deposited in a wood or stone coffin (called an ossuary) or placed in a small carved niche inside the cave.

After 70 CE, there were marked changes in the city's burial practices, although the tradition of burial outside the settled area was preserved. In the beginning, the *necropolis* lay outside the boundaries of the camp and it was later pushed beyond the boundaries of the city. Around Aelia Capitolina lay a *necropolis* containing cremations, cist graves, and family burial caves.[8] The *necropolis* extended a few hundred meters from the city's outer boundary, overlapping the *necropoleis* of the Herodian city and sometimes exploiting Jewish burial caves in secondary use. The Roman tombs were usually dug in a field or in abandoned quarries. In some cases, Roman cremation burials were discovered inside burial caves of the Second Temple period. They were placed over earlier burials without significantly disturbing them. The common type of burial was in shaft tombs, which served both soldiers and civilians. Less common were family burial caves, while magnificent mausoleums (of the kind usually attributed to the upper class) are rare in Jerusalem. The burial chambers were usually very simple and generally not decorated. In only two cases were the tombs decorated with frescoes. A possible explanation for this phenomenon

7 See Kloner and Zissu 2007; *NEAEHL* 2:667–677, and references there.

8 Avni 1997 148; Avni 2005 and references there.

(a simple burial style, compared with the magnificent burial structures known around other Roman cities) may be related to the military origins of much of the city's population and its families.[9] The identity of the population residing in and around Aelia Capitolina, soldiers[10] and citizens[11] alike, is well reflected in epitaphs discovered throughout the city.

Religion and Ritual

The great difference between the Jewish way of life (or Jewish culture) and the pagan lifestyle (or pagan culture) is clearly expressed in the archaeological finds in Jerusalem. The vast, monumental *temenos* of the Temple Mount as well as the plazas, streets and shops that were exposed around its walls reflect the centrality and importance of this holy site in the life of the Herodian city. Apart from being the focal point of the city, it was naturally the religious and economic center of the entire Jewish world until its destruction in 70 CE.

In contrast, the Roman city was characterized by the presence of several temples and places of worship located at numerous locations throughout the city. The historical sources together with the archaeological finds noted above (i.e. coins, inscriptions etc.) provide evidence for the existence of a Hadrianic temple of Jupiter as well as a Temple of Aphrodite, which was later dismantled by order of Constantine. There is also evidence for the worship of Asclepius or Serapis near the Pools of Bethesda and the emperor's worship on the Temple Mount.

Figurative art, which was forbidden to the Jews, flourished in the Roman city. Thus, pottery vessels and oil lamps decorated with mythological scenes are common in Roman pottery assemblages, whereas they are almost completely absent from those of the Second Temple period.[12]

Archaeological evidence of the consumption of pork is used as a means of distinguishing between ethnic groups. Thus, the religious prohibition of eating pork according to the Jewish tradition meant an almost total absence of pig bones at Herodian sites, whereas in Roman strata—as for example in the Roman dump unearthed in the Eastern Cardo excavations—pigs accounted for more than 60 percent of the archaeozoological finds.[13]

In addition, ritual baths and stone vessels associated with the maintenance of Jewish laws of purity and impurity were commonly used by the Jewish pop-

9 Avni 2005, 2017.
10 *CIIP* 1.2, 732–736.
11 *CIIP* 1.2, 737–752.
12 See, for example, the finds from the Roman dump in the Western Wall Plaza excavations, above.
13 Kolska-Horwitz, forthcoming.

ulation and are frequently found in Jerusalem until 70 CE. Their disappearance from the archaeological finds after the year 70 CE attests to the expulsion of the Jewish community from the city.

Epigraphy and Language

Most of the inscriptions from the Second Temple period discovered in and around Jerusalem are written in Greek, Hebrew and Aramaic.[14] The majority are funerary inscriptions (c. 590), while a few are public or religious in nature (only c. 17 inscriptions). Some 85 inscriptions have been found on everyday objects such as pottery vessels and the like.

The change in Jerusalem's population after 70 CE is clearly expressed in the epigraphic evidence. Most of the inscriptions belonging to the period between 70 CE and the early fourth century are written in Latin, which was the language of the military and the Roman administration, and a small number are in Greek—the language spoken by the local population.[15] Hebrew and Aramaic are almost completely absent from the finds.

Less than a hundred inscriptions are known from the period between 70 CE and the city's Christianization under Constantine. This is far fewer than the number of inscriptions from the Second Temple period (over 700) or the Byzantine period (more than 400) in Jerusalem. Most of the inscriptions were not found *in situ* but incorporated as building stones in secondary use in later structures and their original context has been lost. Many were damaged by the numerous modifications they sustained after removal from their primary site and sometimes only part of the inscription is preserved. However, the information they contain is invaluable and their contribution to the study of the city and its population is extremely important. The finds belong to several categories, the main group being that of building inscriptions set in structures throughout the city (civilian and military, religious and secular). A few inscriptions are incorporated in the mosaic pavements of private dwellings in the peripheral area, such as the villa at ʿEn Yaʿel. Also recovered were inscriptions on the funerary stones of soldiers and civilians and there is one instance of an inscription found on a wall inside a tomb. Most of the epitaphs are written in Latin and refer to soldiers and officers of the Roman army and their families, and sometimes to civilians. The funerary inscription of Glaucus, the son of Artemidorus from Zeugma and his family—who lived in the city—is written in

---

14 *CIIP* 1.1, 1–704. One Latin inscription: *NOPRAE*, assigned to the Second Temple period was recently published, see Gendelman and Chalaf 2015.

15 *CIIP* 1.2, 705–783.

Latin even though the father's name, Artemidorus, indicates a Greek origin.[16] Inscriptions on small finds (bread stamps, gemstones set in rings, etc.) have also been recovered.

The Tenth Legion Fretensis, which was stationed in Jerusalem at the time, is mentioned in many building inscriptions, indicating the important role of the legion in the city's construction. Sometimes the buildings were dedicated by veterans of the Tenth Legion, who continued to live in the city after their discharge from the army. Some inscriptions also mention units from other legions who stayed in Jerusalem for short periods, perhaps during the Diaspora or Bar Kokhba Revolts. In 116/117 CE, a vexillation of the Third Legion Cyrenaica placed a dedicatory inscription to Jupiter Serapis to commemorate Trajan's victory over the Dacians.[17] Units of the Second Legion Traiana (?) and the Twelfth Legion Fulminata are mentioned together with the Tenth Legion Fretensis on one monumental building inscription.[18]

A small number of inscriptions are related to the civilian population or municipal institutions. For example, the one incorporated above the east arch in the northern city gate records that the structure was erected by decree of the city council of Aelia Capitolina.[19]

Some of the few inscriptions written in Greek are related to pagan worship. A dedicatory inscription to Zeus was engraved on a stone in the Ecce Homo Arch (apparently before the stone was placed there).[20] A dedicatory inscription on a marble votive foot discovered near Bethesda pool is probably related to the worship of Asclepius at the site.[21] An inscription on the base of a marble statue of a woman found in the Ophel excavations, near the Southern Wall of the Temple Mount, probably comes from the Temple Mount.[22] These artifacts, discovered near cultic sites in Aelia Capitolina—the Temple Mount and Bethesda pool—were probably dedicated by Greek-speaking citizens. Other inscriptions in Greek, on small finds such as gemstones[23] and theater seats,[24] show that in everyday life the local population probably spoke Greek. It is interesting to note that the inscription on the mosaic floor in the villa at ʿEn Yaʿel—whose owners were probably Roman and may well have been veterans of the Tenth Legion—

16 *CIIP* 1.2, 740.
17 *CIIP* 1.2, 705.
18 *CIIP* 1.2, 717.
19 *CIIP* 1.2, 728.
20 *CIIP* 1.2, 708.
21 *CIIP* 1.2, 709.
22 *CIIP* 1.2, 710.
23 *CIIP* 1.2, 766–768.
24 *CIIP* 1.2, 771.

is also in Greek. This may attest to the local origin of the mosaic artisan and his pattern book, or it may show that the villa owner himself was local.

The Urban Development of Aelia Capitolina In Light of Archaeological Research, a Synthesis

The following is a brief summary of the urban development of Aelia Capitolina according to the historical sources and the archaeological finds. The main objective of this short summary is to create a synthesis between the various topics discussed in the book and to present some of the difficulties that have not been solved.

After the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE, the Legio X Fretensis remained in Jerusalem. The site of the camp has not yet been positively identified by archaeologists, but it is reasonable to assume that the camp occupied the summit of the southwestern hill—the site of the Upper City and the palace of Herod in the Second Temple period. The garrison was presumably surrounded by a perimeter wall whose northern and western parts probably incorporated the remains of the First Wall from the Second Temple period and the three Herodian towers: Phasael, Hippicus, and Marriame at its northwest corner. The camp extended over approximately 20–25 hectares and apparently housed the legionary headquarters and some of its units. Meager remains discovered throughout the hill probably belong to the camp's structures. The presence of civilians in a civilian settlement (*Canabae legionis*)[25] near the legionary camp is assumed, but no archaeological evidence has yet been found.

In around 130 CE, Hadrian declared the establishment of a new Roman colony on the ruins of Jerusalem, naming it Aelia Capitolina. Archaeological finds suggest that large-scale infrastructure works carried out throughout the area of the planned city were begun before 130 CE. The preparatory works were intended to clear the area from ruins and level the surface in order to adapt it to the new city plan. It seems that from the outset, the infrastructure work was carried out according to a coherent urban plan that determined the boundaries of the Roman city, the site of its gates, the axes of the main thoroughfares and the location of the urban squares.

---

25 *Canaba, canabae,* is a Latin term that from the time of Hadrian was used to describe a civilian settlement (*Canabae legionis*) in the vicinity of a Roman legionary fortress.

The Roman city was built north and east of the garrison hill, 'enveloping' the camp, which continued to be surrounded by a wall separating it from the city. Aelia Capitolina was a medium-sized, unwalled Roman colony with freestanding city gates marking its outer limits. The Roman city was characterized by colonnaded streets, public squares and triumphal arches. Pagan temples and sanctuaries, as well as civilian and public buildings and bathhouses adorned the cityscape. Building inscriptions show that monumental buildings were dedicated to the city by the municipal council, private citizens, freed slaves, veteran soldiers and military units. The water supply of Aelia Capitolina was channeled from pools and aqueducts of the Second Temple era that continued to be used in one form or another during the Roman period.

Following the transfer of the Tenth Legion to Aela in the late third century, the abandoned campsite remained legionary territory, surrounded by a wall. Army units stationed in Jerusalem (Aelia) during the fourth century may well have stayed at the abandoned camp.[26]

In the first half of the fourth century, several private courtyard houses were built outside the city limits, on the southeastern hill between the Temple Mount and the Pool of Siloam—an area that had remained empty until then. It is impossible to determine whether the beginning of this process was connected to the transfer of the Tenth Legion to Aela and as a result, a possible distribution of land to discharged soldiers who remained in the city with their families and built their homes there. Alternatively, the expansion of the city beyond its limits may have been the result of its Christianization in the Constantinian age. The growing imperial involvement in the city turned Jerusalem into an important metropolis renowned throughout the empire and a focal point for devout Christians. The destruction of the pagan Temple of Aphrodite in the central Forum of Aelia Capitolina and the construction of the Constantinian Basilica of the Anastasis in its place occurred at about the same time.

Finally, *between the late fourth and the mid-fifth centuries*, a wide circumference city wall encompassing the area of Aelia Capitolina together with the southwestern and the southeastern hills was built. The relative emptiness of the southwestern hill until comparatively late—a possible result of its being legionary territory—may have been one of the factors that enabled the extensive construction of churches and monasteries across the hill in the Byzantine

26 A Mauri cavalry unit is mentioned in the *Notitia Dignitatum* (*Not. Dign. Or*. 34.21: *Equites Mauri Illyriciani, Aeliae*). Presence of a cavalry unit in the city is also mentioned by Jerome in his letter to Paulinus of Nola (Hier. *Ep*.58: 4,4: *in qua alla militium*).

period, when the hill was named Sion. During the Byzantine period, Jerusalem reached its fullest extent and possibly attained its largest population.[27] There was a marked increase in the number of farming settlements in the rural hinterland and many monasteries were founded.[28]

The distribution of the remains from the Roman period that are currently known in and around the Old City supports the traditional view that the Old City of Jerusalem preserves the vestiges of Aelia Capitolina, including the camp of Legio X Fretensis. The summit of Mount Zion, today outside the Ottoman walls, was probably included within the limits of the camp, as I have attempted to show above. But this proposal has not been proven with certainty and Charles Wilson's initial suggestion that the camp's area extended over the northern parts of the southwestern hill while the summit of Mount Zion was beyond its territory is quite possible.

The Herodian *temenos* of the Temple Mount was obviously part of Aelia Capitolina, as evidenced by the Great Causeway that carried the Decumanus toward the compound. The bridge, connecting the Temple Mount with Aelia Capitolina, indicates the importance of the Temple Mount to the Romans. Above I proposed, with due caution, that the significance of the Temple Mount derived not only from strategic reasons but also resulted from the identification of the Temple Mount as a traditional holy site.

Epilogue

I have tried to present as broad a picture as possible of the Roman remains known to date (early in 2019) around the Old City of Jerusalem and to suggest a reconstruction of the appearance of Jerusalem in various stages of the Roman

27 Tsafrir 1996:275; 1999 (b):285.

28 Archaeological data from over a thousand sites in the periphery of Jerusalem containing remains dating from the Byzantine period has recently been summarized (Seligman 2011b:700–780). Seligman's conclusions indicate that most of the best arable land—expropriated by the Romans from its former Jewish owners in the wake of the two catastrophic revolts—was transferred in the Byzantine period to religious establishments and especially to monasteries. This made the monasteries the largest landowners in the region, where they leased the lands out to tenant farmers. The hinterland of Jerusalem was therefore settled either by monasteries or by agricultural estates and farmsteads where tenant farmers lived. Hardly any villages developed in fertile areas around the city, and the few Byzantine-period villages that we know of near Jerusalem are located mainly on the fringes of the desert.

period based on the historical resources and the archaeological finds. It must be admitted, however, that many fundamental issues in the study of the city are not resolved at this stage due to the lack of decisive findings.

However, in recent years, due to construction and development activities, a relatively large number of salvage excavations have been conducted, providing valuable access to several previously undiscovered remains. These vestiges, added to those already known, have greatly expanded our knowledge of the city and are largely responsible for my feeling that the time has come to summarize the findings and offer additional interpretations to those suggested in the past. It is to be hoped that further findings in the future will allow us to progress toward a better understanding of the Roman city.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Adamn. *LS*: Adamnan. *De Locis Sanctis*. L. Bieler ed. (*CCSL* 175). Turnout 1965. Pp. 167–178.

AP: *Antonini Placentini itinerarium*. P. Geyer ed. In *Itinera et alia geographia* (*CCSL* 175). Turnout 1965. Pp. 127–152.

Appian *Syr.*: Appian of Alexandria. *Roman History: Bella Syriaca*. H. White ed. and transl. (Loeb Classical Library). Cambridge, Mass. 1912–1913.

Chron. Pasch.: Chronicon Alexandrinum seu Paschale (*PG* 92). Cols. 69–1028.

Cyr. Hier. *Catech.*: Cyrillus Hierosolymitanus. *Catecheses* (*PG* 33). Cols. 369–1084.

Cyr. Hier. *Catech. myst.*: Cyrille de Jérusalem, Catecheses mystagogiques, ed. A. Piedagnel (SC 126), Paris 1966.

Dio Cass.: Dio Cassius. *Dio's Roman History*. E. Cary ed. (Loeb Classical Library). London 1914–1927.

Epiph. *De mens.* (Greek): Epiphanius. *De mensuris and ponderibus* (*PG* 43). Cols. 237–293.

Epiph. *De mens.* (Syriac): *Epiphanius' Treatise on Weights and Measures: the Syriac Version*. J.E. Dean ed. Chicago 1935.

Euch.: Eucherius, *De situ Hierosolymae, epistola ad Faustinum Presbyterum*, *CCSL* 175:235–243.

Eus. *HE*: Eusebius. *Historia Ecclesiastica*. E. Schwartz ed. (*GCS* 9 i–ii). Leipzig 1903–1908.

Eus. *Vita Const.*: Eusebius. *Vita Constantini*. I.A. Heikel ed. (*GCS* 7). Leipzig 1902. Pp. 3–148.

Eus. *Chron.*: Eusebius. *Chronicon*. R. Helm ed. (*GCS* 47). Berlin 1956.

Hier. *Epit. S. Paulae*: Hieronymus. *Epitaphium Sanctae Paulae*. I. Hilberg ed. (*CSEL* 55). Vienna–Leipzig 1912. Pp. 306–351.

Hier. *Ep.*: Hieronymus. *Epistulae* 1–70. I. Hilberg ed. (*CSEL* 54). Vienna 1910.

Hist. Aug.: Historia Augusta. D. Magie ed. and transl. (Loeb Classical Library). London 1922.

It. Burd.: Itinerarium Burdigalense. P. Geyer and O. Kuntz eds. In *Itineraria et alia geographica* (*CCSL* 175). Turnout 1965. Pp. 1–26.

It. Eg.: Itinerarium Egeriae. E. Franceschini and R. Weber In *Itineraria et alia geographica* (*CCSL* 175). Turnout 1965. Pp. 35–90.

Jos. *AJ*: Josephus Flavius. *Jewish Antiquities*. H.St.J. Thackeray, R. Marcus and L.H. Feldman eds. and transl. (Loeb Classical Library). London 1930–1963.

Jos. *BJ*: Josephus Flavius. *The Jewish War*. H.St.J. Thackeray transl. Loeb Classical Library. London 1927–1928.

Jos. *Vita*: Josephus Flavius. *The Life of Josephus*. H.St.J. Thackeray ed. and transl. (Loeb Classical Library). London 1926.

Not. Dign. Occ.: *Notitia dignitatum in partibus Occidentis*. O. Seeck ed. Berlin 1878, repr. Frankfurt am Main 1962.

Not. Dign. Or.: *Notitia Dignitatum in partibus Orientis*. O. Seeck ed. Berlin 1876, repr. Frankfurt am Main 1962.

Paus.: Pausanias. *Graeciae descriptio*. H. Hitzig and H. Bluemner eds. Leipzig 1896–1910.

Petrus Iber.: *Vita Petri Iberi a Joanne Rufo*. R. Raabe ed., *Petrus der Iberer*. Leipzig 1895.

Pliny *Ep.*: Pliny (the Younger). *Epistulae*.B. Radice transl. (Loeb Classical Library). Cambridge, Mass. 1969.

Polyb. *Hist.*: Polybius. *The Histories*. W.R. Paton transl. (Loeb Classical Library). Cambridge, Mass. 1954.

Ptol.: Ptolemy. *Geographia*. C.F.A. Nobbe ed. Hildesheim 1966.

Soz. *HE*: Sozomenos. *Historia Ecclesiastica* J. Bidez and G.C. Hausen eds. (*GCS 50*). Berlin 1960.

Theod. *TS*: Theodosius. *De situ Terrae Sanctae*. P. Geyer ed. (*CCSL* 175:127–153). Turnhout 1965.

Secondary Sources

Abel F. 1911. Petites découvertes au quartier du cénacle a Jérusalem. *RB* 20:119–125.

Abramovich A. 2012. A New Suggestion for the Location of the 10th Legion (Legio X Fretensis) Camp in Jerusalem. In E. Baruch, Y. Levine and A. Levy-Reifer eds. *New Studies on Jerusalem* 18:317–332 (Hebrew; English summary 57*–58*).

Abu-Riya R. 1991. Jerusalem, the Street of the Chain (A). *ESI* 10:134–135.

Adams J.M., Cradic M., Farhi Y., Peers M. and Tepper Y. 2019. A Betyl with a Decorated Base from the Principia of the Roman VIth Ferrata Legionary Base, Legio, Israel. *Israel Museum Studies in Archaeology*, Volume 9 (2018–2019): 68–91.

Adan-Bayewitz D. 2008. Kefar Hananya. *NEAEHL* 5:1909–1911.

Adler N. 2007. A Graffito on a Wall of a Byzantine Building in Area XIV. In E. Mazar. *The Temple Mount Excavations in Jerusalem 1968–1978 Directed by Benjamin Mazar; Final Reports* III: *The Byzantine Period*. (Qedem 46) Jerusalem. Pp. 81–84.

Adler N. 2011. Stamp Impressions of the Tenth Legion from the Temple Mount Excavations. In E. Mazar. *The Temple Mount Excavations in Jerusalem 1968–1978 Directed by Benjamin Mazar; Final Reports* IV: *The Tenth Legion in Aelia Capitolina*. (Qedem 52) Jerusalem. Pp. 319–332.

Adler Y. 2017. Purity Without a Temple: Chalkstone Vessel Production and Use in

the Period Between the Revolts as Seen through the Assemblage from Shuʿfat. In Y. Gadot, Y. Zelinger, K. Cytrin-Silverman and J. Uziel eds. *New Studies in the Archaeology of Jerusalem and its Region* 11. Jerusalem. Pp. 111–123 (Hebrew).

Aharoni Y. 1962. *Excavations at Ramat Raḥel Seasons 1959 and 1960*. Rome.

Aharoni Y. 1964. *Excavations at Ramat Raḥel Seasons 1961 and 1962*. Rome.

Akurgal E. 1985 (sixth edition). *Ancient Civilizations and Ruins of Turkey*. Istanbul.

Alt A. 1927. Das Institut im jahre 1926: Die Ausflüge. *PJ* 23:9–29.

Ambraseys N.N. 2009. *Earthquakes in the Mediterranean and Middle East: A Multidisciplinary Study of Seismicity up to 1900*. Cambridge, UK.

Amiran D.H.K., Arieh E. and Turcotte T. 1994. Earthquakes in Israel and adjacent areas: macroscopic observations since 100 B.C.E. *IEJ* 44: 260–305.

Amiran R. and Eitan A. 1970. Excavations in the Courtyard of the Citadel, Jerusalem, 1968–1969 (Preliminary Report). *IEJ* 20:9–17.

Amit D., Seligman J. and Zilberbod I. 2003. The "Monastery of Theodorus and Cyriacus" on the Eastern Slope of Mount Scopus, Jerusalem. In G.C. Bottini, L. Di Segni and L.D. Chrupcala eds. *One Land—Many Cultures: Archaeological Studies in Honour of Stanislao Loffreda OFM* (SBF Collectio Maior 41). Jerusalem. Pp. 139–148.

Anderson J.C. 1991. *The Thomas Ashby Collection of Roman Brick Stamps in the American Academy in Rome*. Archaeological Monographs of the British School at Rome 3. London.

Anderson J.C. 1997. *Roman Architecture and Society*. London.

Ariel D.T. 2016. Coins from ʿEn Yaʿal (Nahal Refaʾim), Jerusalem. *ʿAtiqot* 87:81–82.

Ariel D.T. and Magness J. 1992. Area K. In A. De Groot and D.T. Ariel eds. *Excavations at the City of David 1978–1985, Directed by Yigal Shiloh* III: *Stratigraphical, Environmental, and Other Reports* (Qedem 33). Jerusalem. Pp. 63–97.

Arieli R. 1998. Human Remains from the Har Hazofim Observatory Tombs (Mt. Scopus, Jerusalem). *ʿAtiqot* 35:37–42.

Arubas B. and Goldfus H. dirs. and eds. 2005. *Excavations on the site of the Jerusalem International Convention Center (Binyanei Ha'Uma): A Settlement of the Late First to Second Temple Period, The Tenth Legion's Kilnworks, and a Byzantine Monastic Complex; The Pottery and Other Finds*. (*JRA* Suppl. S. 60). Portsmouth, R.I.

Arubas B. and Goldfus H. 2008a. The Jerusalem International Convention Center. *NEAEHL* 5. Pp. 1828–1830.

Arubas B. and Goldfus H. 2008b. Masada: The Roman Siege Works. *NEAEHL* 5. Pp. 1937–1940.

Ashkenazi J. 2009. *The 'Mother of All Churches': The Church of Palestine from its Foundation to the Arab Conquest*. Jerusalem (Hebrew).

Avi-Yonah M. 1935. Lead Coffins from Palestine. *QDAP* 4:87–99.

Avi-Yonah M. 1939. Greek and Latin Inscriptions from Jerusalem and Beisan. *QDAP* 8:54–57.

Avi-Yonah M. ed. 1942. Earthquakes in Palestine and Syria. In *Collection of Sources on Earthquakes in Israel and Syria.*

Avi-Yonah M. 1946 (1962 second edition). *In the Days of Rome and Byzantium.* Jerusalem (Hebrew).

Avi-Yonah M. 1950. Sheikh Badr Excavation (1949). *BIES* 15:19–24 (Hebrew).

Avi-Yonah M. 1953. The Madaba Mosaic Map. *EI* 2:129–156 (Hebrew).

Avi-Yonah M. 1954. *The Madaba Mosaic Map: With Introduction and Commentary by Michael Avi-Yonah.* Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.

Avi-Yonah M. 1956. Jerusalem in the Time of the Second Temple. Archaeology and Topography. In *Sepher Yerushalayim* (*The Book of Jerusalem*) 1. Jerusalem–Tel-Aviv. Pp. 305–319.

Avi-Yonah M. 1966. *Carta's Atlas of the Period of the Second Temple, the Mishna and the Talmud.* Jerusalem.

Avi-Yonah, M. 1968. The Third and Second Walls of Jerusalem. *IEJ* 18:98–125.

Avi-Yonah M. 1974. Survey of Population and Population Density in Ancient Israel. In Avi-Yonah M. *Essays and Studies in the Lore of the Holy Land.* Tel Aviv–Jerusalem. Pp. 114–124 (Hebrew).

Avigad N. 1983. *Discovering Jerusalem.* Nashville.

Avner R. 1994. A Roman Mosaic on Mount Zion, Jerusalem. *ʿAtiqot* 25:21*–25* (Hebrew).

Avner R. 2015. Jerusalem, ʿEn Yaʿal. Final Report. *HA-ESI* 127. http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=21786&mag_id=122 (accessed October 19, 2018).

Avner R., Greenwald R., Ecker A. and Cotton H.M. 2014. A New-Old Monumental Inscription from Jerusalem Honoring Hadrian. In G.D. Stiebel, O. Peleg-Barkat, D. Ben-Ami and Y. Gadot eds. *New Studies in the Archaeology of Jerusalem and Its Region, Collected Papers,* 8:96–101 (Hebrew).

Avner R. and Zelinger Y. 2015. A Cemetery, a Quarry and Remains of a Church at Ketef Hinnom, Jerusalem. *ʿAtiqot* 80:23*–53* (Hebrew; English summary 141–142).

Avni G. 1997. *The Necropoleis of Jerusalem and Beth Govrin During the 4th–7th Centuries A.D. as a Model for Urban Cemeteries in Palestine in the Late Roman and Byzantine Periods.* Phd. Diss. Hebrew University. Jerusalem (Hebrew; English abstract 1*–12*).

Avni G. 2005. The Urban Limits of Roman and Byzantine Jerusalem: A view from the Necropoleis. *JRA* 18:373–397.

Avni G. 2014. *The Byzantine–Islamic Transition in Palestine: An Archaeological Approach.* Oxford University Press.

Avni G. 2017. The Necropoleis of Aelia Capitolina: Burial Practices, Ethnicity and the City Limits. In G. Avni and G.D. Stiebel eds. *Roman Jerusalem: A New Old City.* (*JRA* Suppl. S. 105). Pp. 123–130.

Avni G. and Adawi Z. 2015. Excavations on Sallah ed-Din Street, Jerusalem, and the Northern Cemetery of Aelia Capitolina. *ʿAtiqot* 80:45–71.

Avni G., Baruch Y. and Weksler-Bdolah S. 2001. Jerusalem, The Old City—Herod's Gate. *HA-ESI* 113:76–79.

Avni G. and Greenhut Z. 1996. *The Akeldama Tombs* (IAA Reports 1). Jerusalem.

Avni G. and Re'em A. 1999. Jerusalem, Shuq Ha-Qazzavim. *ESI* 110:60*–61*.

Bagatti B. and Milik J.T. 1958. *Gli scavi del "Dominus Flevit" (Monte Oliveto—Gerusalemme) I: La necropoli del periodo romano*. Jerusalem.

Bahat D. 1974. A Roof Tile of the Legio VI Ferrata and Pottery Vessels from Horvat Hazon. *IEJ* 24:160–169, Pl. 30–31.

Bahat D. 2000. *Carta's Great Historical Atlas of Jerusalem*. Jerusalem.

Bahat D. 2013. *The Jerusalem Western Wall Tunnel*. Jerusalem.

Baker R. 2012. Epipanius, *On Weights and Measures* § 14: Hadrian's Journey to the East and the Rebuilding of Jerusalem. *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 182:157–167.

Bar-Nathan R. and Bijovsky G. 2018. The Emperor Plowing: Cause or Effect? A Hadrianic Coin from Excavations at Shuʿafat and the Foundation of Aelia Capitolina. *Israel Numismatic Research* 13:139–150.

Bar-Nathan R. and Sklar-Parnes D.A. 2007. A Jewish Settlement in Orine Between the Two Revolts. In J. Patrich and D. Amit eds. *New Studies in the Archaeology of Jerusalem and Its Region. Collected Papers* 1. Jerusalem. Pp. 57–64 (Hebrew).

Barag D. 1964. An Inscription from the High Level Aqueduct of Caesarea–reconsidered. *IEJ* 14:250–252.

Barag D. 1967. Brick Stamp Impressions of the Legio X Fretensis. *Bonner Jahrbücher* 167:244–267.

Baramki D.C. 1934. An Early Christian Basilica at ʿEin Hanniya. *QDAP* 3:113–117.

Barbe H.H. and Deadle T. 2006. Jerusalem—Ohel Yizhaq. In E. Baruch, Z. Greenhut and A. Faust eds. *New Studies on Jerusalem* 11:19*–29*.

Barkay G. 2000. Excavations at Ketef Hinnom in Jerusalem. In H. Geva ed. *Ancient Jerusalem Revealed*. Pp. 85–106.

Baruch E. 1998. The Economic Hinterland of Jerusalem in the Herodian Period. *Cathedra* 89:41–62 (Hebrew; English summary 197).

Baruch Y. and Reich R. 2003. Some Notes on the Eastern Cardo of Jerusalem. In E. Baruch, U. Leibner and A. Faust eds. *New Studies on Jerusalem* 9:147–160 (Hebrew).

Baruch Y. and Reich R. 2006. Roman Remains near the Southeastern Corner of the Temple Mount. In E. Baruch, Z. Greenhut and A. Faust eds. *New Studies on Jerusalem* 11:247–262 (Hebrew).

Baruch Y. and Weiss D. 2009. Jerusalem, The Western Wall Plaza. *HA-ESI* 121. http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/Report_Detail_Eng.aspx?id=1285&mag_id=115 (accessed October 19, 2018).

Baruch Y. and Zilberbod I. 2015. Ein el Haniya at Nahal Refa'im: The Results of the Archaeological Explorations. In G.D. Stiebel, O. Peleg-Barkat, D. Ben-Ami and Y.

Gadot eds. *New Studies in the Archaeology of Jerusalem and Its Region. Collected Papers* 9. Jerusalem. Pp. 195–213 (Hebrew)

Bear D. 1993. The Southern Boundary of Aelia Capitolina and the Location of the Tenth Roman Legion's Camp. *Cathedra* 69:37–56 (Hebrew; English summary 183).

Bear D. 1994. A Response. *Cathedra* 73:187 (Hebrew).

Beauvery R. 1957. La route romaine de Jérusalem a Jéricho. *RB* 64:72–101.

Be'eri R. 2015. Bet Neqofa. *HA-ESI* 127. http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=23815&mag_id=122 (accessed October 19, 2018).

Belayche N. 2001. *Iudaea-Palaestina: The Pagan Cults in Roman Palestine* (*Second to Fourth Century*). Tübingen.

Ben-Ami D. and Tchekhanovets Y. 2010. A Domestic Dwelling from the End of the Second Temple Period and a Late Roman Peristyle Structure in the Givʿati Parking Lot, City of David. *Qadmoniot* 140:89–95 (Hebrew).

Ben-Ami D. and Tchekhanovets Y. 2013. A Roman Mansion Found in the City of David. *IEJ* 63:164–173.

Ben-Ami D. and Tchekhanovets Y. 2017. The Southward Expansion of Aelia Capitolina in the Late Roman Period. In G. Avni and G.D. Stiebel eds. *Roman Jerusalem: A New Old City*. (*JRA* Suppl. S. 105). Pp. 65–71.

Ben-Arieh R. and Coen-Uzzieli T. 1996. The Pottery. In G. Avni and Z. Greenhut. *The Akeldama Tombs* (IAA Reports 1). Jerusalem. Pp. 73–94.

Ben David H. 2013. All Roads Lead to Jerusalem: Aelia Capitolina and the Roman Imperial Road Network. In G.D. Stiebel, O. Peleg-Barkat, D. Ben-Ami, S. Weksler-Bdolah and Y. Gadot eds. *NSAJR* 7:207–218 (Hebrew).

Ben-Dov M. 1973. Building Techniques in the Ommayad Palace near the Temple Mount, Jerusalem. *Eretz Israel* 11. Israel Exploration Society: Jerusalem. Pp. 75–91 (Hebrew; English summary 24*–25*).

Ben-Dov M. 1985. (trans. Ina Friedman). *In the Shadow of the Temple, the Discovery of Ancient Jerusalem*. New York.

Ben-Dov M. 2002. (trns. David Louvish). *Historical Atlas of Jerusalem*. New York. London.

Benoit P. 1971. L' Antonia d' Hérode le Grand et le forum oriental d' Aelia Capitolina. *The Harvard Theological Review* 64:135–167.

Bieberstein K. 2007. Aelia Capitolina. In Z.A. Kafafi ed. Jerusalem Before Islam. (BAR Int. S. 1699). Oxford. Pp. 134–168.

Bijovsky G. 1996. The Coins. In G. Avni and Z. Greenhut. *The Akeldama Tombs* (IAA Reports 1). Jerusalem. Pp. 105–108.

Bijovsky G. 2007. The Coin Finds from the Shuʿfaṭ (Givʿat Shaul) Excavations: Preliminary Report. In J. Patrich and D. Amit. *New Studies in the Archaeology of Jerusalem and its Region* 8. Jerusalem. Pp. 65–72 (Hebrew).

Bijovsky G. 2015. Coins from Excavations on Sallah ed-Din Street, Jerusalem. *ʿAtiqot* 80:125–126.

Bitton-Ashkelony B. 1999. The Pilgrimage of Peter the Iberian. *Cathedra* 91:97–112 (Hebrew; English summary 180).

Blagg T.F.C. 1983. The Reuse of Monumental Masonry in Late Roman Defensive Walls. In J. Malomey and B. Hobley eds. *Roman Urban Defences in the West.* (Council for British Archaeology Research Report 51). London. Pp. 130–135.

Bliss F.J. and Dickie A.C. 1898. *Excavations in Jerusalem 1894–1897*. London.

Blomme J. 1979. Faut-il revenir sur la datation de l'arc de l'Ecce Homo? *RB* 86:224–271.

Boatwright M.T. 2000. *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*. New Jersey.

Bowersock G.W. 1980. A Roman Perspective on the Bar Kochba War. In W.S. Green ed. *Approaches to Ancient Judaism* II. Missoula. Pp. 131–141.

Brock S.P. 1976. The Rebuilding of the Temple Under Julian: A New Source. *PEQ* 108:103–107.

Brock S.P. 1977. A Letter Attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem on the Rebuilding of the Temple. *BSOAS* 40:267–286.

Brodribb G. 1987. *Roman Brick and Tile*. Gloucester.

Broshi M. 1972. Excavations in the House of Caiaphas, Mount Zion. *Qadmoniot* 19–20:104–111 (Hebrew).

Broshi M. 1977. Standards of Street Width in the Roman—Byzantine Period. *IEJ* 27 (4):232–235.

Broshi M. and Gibson S. 1994. Excavations Along the Western and Southern Walls of the Old City of Jerusalem. In H. Geva ed. *Ancient Jerusalem Revealed.* Jerusalem. Pp. 147–155.

Burgoyne M.H. 1992. The Gates of the Haram al-Sharif. In J. Raby and J. Johns eds. *Bayt Al-Maqdis 'Abd al-Malik's Jerusalem*. Part 1. Oxford. Pp. 105–124.

Cameron A. and Hall S.G. 1999. *Eusebius, Life of Constantine, Introduction, Translation and Commentary*. In B. Bosworth, D. Whitehead, M. Griffin and S. Treggiari eds. *Clarendon Ancient History Series*. Oxford.

Cameron A. and Herrin J. 1984. *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century: The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai.* Leiden.

Campbell S.D. 1985. The Hare Mosaic: A Comparative Study. In Tushingham A.D. *Excavations in Jerusalem 1961–1967* I. *Excavations in the Armenian Garden on the Western Hill.* Toronto. Pp. 87–88.

Capponi L. 2010. Hadrian in Jerusalem and Alexandria in 117. In *Athenaeum, Studi di Letteratura e Storia dell'Antichità, pubblicati sotto gli auspice dell'Università di Pavia* 98. Pp. 489–501.

Carroll W.D. 1923–1924. Bittir and Its Archaeological Remains. *AASOR* 5:77–103.

Chen D., Margalit S. and Solar G. 1979. Jerusalem, Christian Quarter, 1977. *IEJ* 29:243–244, Notes and News.

Clermont-Ganneau C. 1896–1899. *Archaeological Researches in Palestine During the Years 1873–1874* I, II. London.

Clermont-Ganneau C. 1903. Inscriptions de Palestine. *Comptes rendus des séances—Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*. Pp. 479–494.

Collingwood R.G. 1930. *The Archaeology of Roman Britain*. London.

Conder C.R. 1875a. The Zion Scarp. *PEFQSt.* 8:7–10.

Conder C.R. 1875b. The Rock Scarp of Zion. *PEFQSt.* 8:81–89.

Conder C.R. and Kitchener H.H. 1880. *Map of Western Palestine*. London.

Corbo V. 1959–1960. Scavo archeologico a ridosso della basilica dell'Ascensione. *Liber Annus* 10:205–225.

Corbo V. 1981–1982. *Il Santo Sepolcro di Gerusalemme: Aspetti archeologici dalle origini al periodo crociato* (SBF Collectio Maior 29) (3 vols.). Jerusalem.

Cotton H.M. and Eck W. 2009. An Imperial Arch in the Colonia Aelia Capitolina: A Fragment of a Latin Inscription in the Islamic Museum of the Haram ash-Sharif. In J. Geiger, H.M. Cotton and G.D. Stiebel eds. *Israel's Land Papers Presented to Israel Shatzman on his Jubilee*. Raanana. Pp. 97–118.

Coüasnon C.O.P. 1974. *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem*. J.-P.B. and C. Ross trns. London.

Crowfoot J.W. and Fitzgerald G.M. 1929. *Excavations in the Tyropoeon Valley 1927* (Palestine Exploration Fund Annual, 5). London.

Crowfoot J.W., Kenyon K.M. and Sukenik E.L. 1942. *Samaria-Sebaste I: The Buildings at Samaria*. London.

Dalaman G. 1912. Das erste jahrzehnt des Instituts. *PJ* 8:1–63.

Darvill T. and McWhirr A. 1984. Brick and tile production in Roman Britain: Models of economic organization. *World Archaeology* 15: 239–261.

de-Sion, Aline M. 1955. *La forteresse Antonia à Jérusalem et la question du pretoire*. Paris.

De Groot A. and Michaeli D. 1992. Area H. In A. De Groot and D.T. Ariel eds. *Excavations at the City of David 1978–1985, Directed by Yigal Shiloh* III: *Stratigraphical, Environmental, and Other Reports* (Qedem 33). Jerusalem. Pp. 35–53.

de Vaux R. and Steve A.M. 1950. *Fouilles a Qaryet el-ʿEnab/Abu Gosh, Palestine*. Paris.

De Vogüé M. 1864. *Le Temple de Jérusalem: Monographie du Haram ech-Cherif*. Paris.

Detweiler A.H. 1938. The Triumphal Arch. In C.H. Kraeling. *Gerasa—City of the Decapolis*. New Haven. Pp. 73–83.

Di Segni L. 2002. The Water Supply of Roman and Byzantine Palestine in Literary and Epigraphical Sources. In D. Amit, J. Patrich and Y. Hirschfeld eds. *The Aqueducts of Israel* (*JRA* Suppl. S. 46). Portsmouth, R.I. Pp. 37–67.

Di Segni L. 2011a. A Latin Inscription on the Western Wall. In E. Mazar ed. *The Temple Mount Excavations in Jerusalem 1968–1978 Directed by Benjamin Mazar; Final Reports* IV. *The Tenth Legion in Aelia Capitolina* (Qedem 52). Jerusalem. Pp. 347–348.

Di Segni L. 2011b. An Inscribed Roof Tile from the Bakery. In E. Mazar ed. *The Temple Mount Excavations in Jerusalem 1968–1978 Directed by Benjamin Mazar; Final Reports* IV. *The Tenth Legion in Aelia Capitolina* (Qedem 52). Jerusalem. Pp. 235–238.

Di Segni L. 2014. Epiphanius and the Date of Foundation of Aelia Capitolina. *Liber Annus* 64:441–451.

Di Segni L. and Tsafrir Y. 2012. The Ethnic Composition of Jerusalem's Population in the Byzantine Period (312–638 CE). *Liber Annus* 62:405–454.

Di Segni L. and Weksler-Bdolah S. 2012. Three Military Bread Stamps from the Western Wall Plaza Excavations, Jerusalem. *ʿAtiqot* 70:21*–31*.

Drijvers J.W. 1992. *Helena Augusta: The Mother of Constantine the Great and the Legend of her Finding of the True Cross*. Leiden.

Eck W. 1999. The Bar Kokhba Revolt: The Roman Point of View. *JRS* 89:76–89.

Eck W. 2003. Hadrian, the Bar Kokhba Revolt and the Epigraphic Transmission. In P. Schäfer ed. *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered: New Perspectives on the Second Jewish Revolt against Rome*. (Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum 100). Tübingen. Pp. 153–170.

Ecker A. and Cotton H.M. 2019. The Legio X Fretensis Welcomes the Emperor: A Latin Inscription on a Monument Erected for Hadrian in 129/130 CE. *Israel Museum Studies in Archaeology*, Volume 9 (2018–2019): 58–67.

Edelstein G. 1990. What's a Roman Villa Doing Outside Jerusalem? *BAR* 16(6): 32–42.

Edelstein G. 1993. A Roman Villa at ʿEin Yaʿel. *Qadmoniot* 103–104:114–119 (Hebrew).

Eisenberg E. 1975. Motsa. In: Chronique archéologique. *RB* 82:587.

Eliav Y.Z. 1997. Hadrian's Actions in the Jerusalem Temple Mount According to Cassius Dio and Xiphilini Manus. *JSQ* 4:125–144.

Eliav Y.Z. 2003. The Urban Layout of Aelia Capitolina: A New View from the Perspective of the Temple Mount. In P. Schäfer ed. *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered: New Perspectives on the Second Jewish Revolt against Rome*. (Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum 100). Tübingen. Pp. 244–251.

Eliav Y.Z. 2005. *God's Mountain: The Temple Mountain in Time, Place and Memory*. Baltimore.

Eshel H. 2000. The Date of the Founding of Aelia Capitolina. In L.H. Schifmann, E. Tov and J.V. Vanderkam eds. *The Dead Sea Scrolls, Fifty Years After Their Discovery*. Jerusalem. Pp. 636–643.

Eshel H. 2007. "Bethar was Captured and the City was Plowed": Jerusalem, Aelia Capitolina and the Bar Kokhba Revolt. *Eretz-Israel* 28 (Volume Teddy Kollek). Pp. 21–28 (Hebrew; English summary 10*).

Eshel H. and Zissu B. 1999. An Archaeological Survey in el-Jai Cave in Nahal Michmash (Wadi Sweinit) and the date of Aelia Capitolina. In Y. Eshel ed. *Researches of Judaea and Samaria* 8, Ariel. Pp. 81–96

Eshel H. and Zissu B. 2002. Coins From el-Jai Cave in Nahal Michmash (Wadi Suweinit). In D. Barag ed. *Studies in Memory of Leo Mildenberg*. Jerusalem. Pp. 168–175.

Farhi Y. and Lipschits O. 2009. A Unique Bulla from the Ramat Raḥel Excavations Bear-

ing the name of Hadrian. In E. Baruch, A. Levi-Reifer and A. Faust eds. *New Studies on Jerusalem* 15:169–175 (Hebrew; English summary 15*–16*).

Finn J. 1868. *Byeways in Palestine*. London: Nisbet.

Fischer M., Isaac B. and Roll I. 1996. *Roman Roads in Judaea* II. *The Jaffa–Jerusalem Roads*. (BAR Int. S. 628). Oxford.

Fischer T. and Trier M. 2014. *Roman Cologne*. Cologne.

Flusin B. 1992. L'esplanade du Temple à l'arrivée Arabes, d'après deux récits Byzantins. In J. Raby and J. Johns eds. *Bayt Al-Maqdis, 'Abd al-Malik's Jerusalem*. Part 1. Oxford. Pp. 17–31.

Friedheim E. 1997. Pagan Cults of Aelia Capitolina: A City Without Syncretism. In A. Faust and E. Baruch eds. *New Studies on Jerusalem* 3:29–42 (Hebrew).

Friedheim E. 2000. The Role of the Roman Army in the Spread of Paganism in Judea and Samaria after the Great Revolt. In Y. Eshel ed. *Judea and Samaria Research Studies* 9:201–218.

Gath J. and Rahmani L.Y. 1977. A Roman Tomb at Manaḥat, Jerusalem. *IEJ* 27:209–214, Plates 27–29.

Gendelman P. and Chalaf O. 2016. Excavations of the Strauss Complex in the Western Wall Plaza: A Preliminary Report on Building G. In G.D. Stiebel, J. Uziel, K. Cytrin-Silverman, A. Re'em and Y. Gadot eds. *New Studies in the Archaeology of Jerusalem and its Region* 10. Jerusalem. Pp. 115–127 (Hebrew).

Germer-Durand J. 1892. Aelia-Capitolina. *RB* 1:369–387.

Germer-Durand J. 1894. Épigraphie palestinienne. *RB* 3:613–614.

Germer-Durand J. 1895. Inscriptiones romaines et byzantines de Palestine. *RB* 4:68–77.

Germer-Durand J. 1914. *Maison de Caïphe*. Paris.

Gershuny L. 1991. Jerusalem, the Street of the Chain (B). *ESI* 10:135–136.

Geva H. 1983. Excavations in the Citadel of Jerusalem, 1979–1980 (Preliminary Report). *IEJ* 33:55–71.

Geva H. 1984. The camp of the Tenth Legion in Jerusalem: An Archaeological Reconsideration. *IEJ* 34: 239–254.

Geva H. 1993. Jerusalem, the Second Temple Period (pp. 717–757), the Roman Period (pp. 758–767), the Byzantine Period (pp. 768–785). In E. Stern ed. *New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* 2. Jerusalem. Pp. 717–785.

Geva H. 1994a. *Ancient Jerusalem Revealed*. Jerusalem.

Geva H. 1994b. The Tenth Roman Legion Did Camp on the Southwest Hill. *Cathedra* 73:181–186 (Hebrew).

Geva, H. 2000a. Excavations in the Citadel of Jerusalem, 1976–1980. In H. Geva ed. *Ancient Jerusalem Revealed: Expanded Edition*. Jerusalem. Pp. 156–167.

Geva H. ed. 2000b. *Jewish Quarter Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem Conducted by Nahman Avigad, 1969–1982* I: *Architecture and Stratigraphy: Areas A, W and X-2; Final Report*. Jerusalem.

Geva H. 2003. Stamp Impressions of the Legio x Fretensis. In H. Geva ed. *Jewish Quarter Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem Conducted by Nahman Avigad, 1969–1982* II: *The Finds from Areas A, W and x-2; Final Report.* Jerusalem. Pp. 405–422.

Geva H. 2005. Jerusalem, The Western Wall Tunnels, the Street of the Chain. *NEAEHL* 5:1812–1813 (nos. 11, 12).

Geva H. ed. 2006. *Jewish Quarter Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem Conducted by Nahman Avigad 1969–1982* III: *Area E and Other Studies. Final Report. Stratigraphy and Architecture*. Jerusalem.

Geva H. 2010. Stratigraphy and Architecture of Area B. In H. Geva ed. *Jewish Quarter Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem Conducted by Nahman Avigad 1969–1982* IV: *The Burnt House of Area B and Other Studies, Final Report.* Jerusalem. Pp. 1–91.

Geva H. 2014a. Stratigraphy and Architecture of Area N. In H. Geva ed. *Jewish Quarter Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem Conducted by Nahman Avigad 1969–1982* VI: *Areas J, N, Z and Other Studies. Final Report.* Jerusalem. Pp. 83–119.

Geva H. 2014b. Jerusalem's Population in Antiquity: A Minimalist View. *Tel-Aviv* 41:131–160.

Geva H. and Bahat D. 1998. Architectural and Chronological Aspects of the Ancient Damascus Gate. *IEJ* 48:223–238.

Giacomini F. 2005. The Roman stamped tiles of Vindonissa (1st century A.D., northern Switzerland): Provenance and Technology of Production—an Archaeometric Study. *British Archaeological Reports. International Series*; 1449. Oxford.

Gibson S. 1995. *Landscape Archaeology and Ancient Agricultural Field Systems in Palestine*. Ph.D. Thesis. University of London.

Gibson S. 2008. The Bethesda Pool in Jerusalem: A New Investigation of Old Excavations. In E. Baruch, A. Levy-Reifer and A. Faust eds. *New Studies on Jerusalem* 14:21*–29*.

Gibson S. 2011. The Excavations at the Bethhesda Pool in Jerusalem. In *La piscine probatique de Jésus à Saladin: le projet Béthesda (1994–2010)*. Sainte-Anne de Jérusalem. Pp. 17–44.

Goodchild R. 1954. Oasis Forts of Legio III Augusta on the Routes to the Fezzan. *Papers of the British School at Rome* 22:56–68.

Goodman M. 2003. Trajan and the Origin of the Bar Kokhba War. In P. Schäfer ed. *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered: New Perspectives on the Second Jewish Revolt against Rome.* (Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum 100). Tübingen. Pp. 23–29.

Gordon B. 2007. The Byzantine Quarter South of the Temple Mount Enclosure. In E. Mazar. *The Temple Mount Excavations in Jerusalem 1968–1978 Directed by Benjamin Mazar. Final Reports* III. *The Byzantine Period.* (Qedem 46). Jerusalem. Pp. 201–215.

Grabar O. 1996. *The Shape of the Holy: Early Islamic Jerusalem.* Princeton.

Gray W.D. 1923. The Founding of Aelia Capitolina and the Chronology of the Jewish War Under Hadrian. *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 39:248–256.

Greenhut Z. 1997. Village Settlements in the Periphery of Jerusalem from the Early Roman to the Byzantine Period. In S. Dar and Z. Safrai eds. *The Village in Ancient Israel*. Pp. 147–159 (Hebrew).

Greenhut Z. and De Groot A. 2009. Salvage excavations at Tel Moza: The Bronze and Iron Age Settlements and Later Occupations (IAA Reports 39). Jerusalem.

Grüll T. 2006. A Fragment of a Monumental Roman Inscription at the Islamic Museum of the Haram ash-Sharif. *IEJ* 56(2):183–200.

Grüll T. 2007. A Roman Triumphal Arch on the Temple Mount? *Minerva* 2007:5.

Gutfeld O. 2007. The Planning of Byzantine-Period Jerusalem's Streets. *Eretz-Israel* 28 (Volume Teddy Kollek). Pp. 66–78 (Hebrew; English summary 11*)

Gutfeld O. 2011. The Urban Layout of Byzantine-Period Jerusalem. In K. Galor and G. Avni eds. *Unearthing Jerusalem: 150 Years of Archaeological Research in the Holy City*. Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake. Pp. 327–350.

Gutfeld O. 2012. *Jewish Quarter Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem. Conducted by Nahman Avigad, 1969–1982* V: *The Cardo and the Nea Church. Final Report*. Jerusalem.

Gutfeld O. 2017. From Aelia Capitolina to Hagia Polis Hierosalima: Changes in the Urban Layout of Jerusalem. In G. Avni and G.D. Stiebel eds. *Roman Jerusalem: A New Old City*. (*JRA* Suppl. S. 105). Pp. 51–64.

Hamilton R.W. 1932. Street Levels in the Tyropoeon Valley. *QDAP* 1:105–110.

Hamilton R.W. 1933. Street Levels in the Tyropoeon Valley II. *QDAP* 2:34–40.

Hamilton R.W. 1938. Note on Recent Discoveries Outside St. Stephen's Gate, Jerusalem. *QDAP* 6:153–156.

Hamilton R.W. 1939. The Domed Tomb at Sebastya. *QDAP* 8:61–71.

Hamilton R.W. 1944. Excavations Against the North Wall of Jerusalem, 1937–1938. *QDAP* 10:1–54.

Hamilton R.W. 1952. Jerusalem in the Fourth Century. *PEQ* 84:83–90.

Hassal M.W.C. 1979. Military Tile Stamps from Britain. *British Archaeological Reports* 68:261–266.

Hennessy J.B. 1970. Preliminary Report on Excavations at the Damascus Gate, Jerusalem, 1964–1966. *Levant* 2:22–27.

Hirschfeld Y. 1987. The History and Town Plan of Ancient Hammat Gader. *ZDPV* 103:101–116.

Holum K. 1989. The End of Classical Urbanism at Caesarea Maritima, Israel. In R.I. Curtis ed. *Studia Pompeiana & Classica in honor of Wilhelmina F. Jashemski* II: *Classica*. New-York. Pp. 87–104.

Holum K. 2009. *Et dispositione civitatis in multa eminens*: Comprehending the Urban Plan of Fourth-Century Caesarea. In L. Di Segni, Y. Hirschfeld, J. Patrich and R. Talgam eds. *Man Near a Roman Arch: Studies Presented to Prof. Yoram Tsafrir*. Jerusalem. Pp. 169–189.

Horn C.B. and Phenix R.R. eds. and transl. 2008. John Rufus: The Lives of Peter the

Iberian, Theodosius of Jerusalem, and the Monk Romanus. In *Writings from the Graeco-Roman World* 24. Atlanta.

Humbert J-B. 2011. Excavations at Saint John Prodromos, Jerusalem. In D. Amit, G.D. Stiebel and O. Peleg-Barkat eds. *New Studies in the Archaeology of Jerusalem and its Region* 5. Jerusalem. Pp. 24–47.

Hunt E.D. 1982. *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire, AD 312–460*. Oxford.

Ilan Z. 1982. Additional Milestones on the Jerusalem–Jericho Roman Road. *Nature and Land* 24 (2):82 (Hebrew).

Iliffe G.H. 1935. Cemeteries and a 'Monastery' at the Y.M.C.A., Jerusalem. *QDAP* 4:70–80.

Iliffe G.H. 1938. The ΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ Inscription from Herod's Temple. Fragment of a Second Copy. *QDAP* 6:1–3.

Isaac B. 1990. *The Limits of Empire: The Roman Army in the East*. Oxford.

Isaac B. 1998a. Cassius Dio on the Revolt of Bar Kokhba. In *The Near East Under Roman Rule. Selected Papers*. Leiden, New-York, Köln. Pp. 211–219.

Isaac B. 1998b. Milestones in Judaea: From Vespasian to Constantine. In *The Near East Under Roman Rule. Selected Papers*. Leiden, New-York, Köln. Pp. 48–75.

Isaac B. 1998c. Roman Colonies in Judaea: The Foundation of Aelia Capitolina. In *The Near East Under Roman Rule. Selected Papers*. Leiden, New-York, Köln. Pp. 87–111.

Isaac B. 1999. Inscriptions from Jerusalem after the First Revolt. In Y. Tsafrir and S. Safrai eds. *The History of Jerusalem: The Roman and Byzantine Periods (70–638 CE)*. Jerusalem. Pp. 167–180 (Hebrew).

Isaac B. 2009. Latin in Cities of the Roman Near East. In H.M. Cotton, J. Price and D. Wasserstein eds. *From Hellenism to Islam: Cultural and Linguistic Change in the Roman Near East*. Cambridge. Pp. 43–72.

Isaac B. 2010. Jerusalem—an Introduction. In H.M. Cotton, L. Di Segni, W. Eck, B. Isaac, A. Kushnir-Stein, H. Misgav, J. Price, I. Roll and A. Yardeni eds. *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palestinae* (*CIIP*) Vol. 1.1, pp. 1–37.

Isaac B. and Gichon M. 1974. A Flavian Inscription from Jerusalem. *IEJ* 24:117–123.

Isaac B. and Oppenheimer A. 1998. The Revolt of Bar Kokhba: Ideology and Modern Scholarship. In *The Near East Under Roman Rule. Selected Papers*. Leiden, New-York, Köln. Pp. 220–256.

James S. 2007. New Light on the Roman Base at Dura-Europos: Interim Report on a Pilot Season of Fieldwork in 2005. In A.S. Lewin and P. Pellegrini eds. *The Late Roman Army in the Near East from Diocletian to the Arab Conquest* (*Proceedings of a Colloquium Held at Potenza, Acerenza and Matera, Italy, May 2005*) (BAR Int. S. 1717). Oxford. Pp. 29–45.

Johns C.N. 1932. Jerusalem: Ancient Street Levels in the Tyropoeon Valley Within the Walls. *QDAP* 1:97–100.

Johns C.N. 1948. Discoveries in Palestine since 1939. *PEQ* 80:81–101.

Johns C.N. 1950. The Citadel, Jerusalem. A Summary of Work Since 1934. *QDAP* 14:121–190.

Johnson S. 1983. *Late Roman Fortifications*. London.

Jones A.H.M. 1964. *The Later Roman Empire 284–602: A Social Economic and Administrative Survey*. Oxford.

Jones C.P. 1985. The Inscription on the Hare Mosaic. In A.D. Tushingham *Excavations in Jerusalem 1961–1967* I. *Excavations in the Armenian Garden on the Western Hill.* Toronto. Pp. 88–90.

Jones C.P. 2006. Hellenism in the Roman Imperial Period: remembering Louis Robert. *JRA* 19:649–652.

Kennedy D. 1998. The Identity of Roman Gerasa: An Archaeological Approach. *Mediterranean Archaeology* 11:39–69.

Kennedy H. 2006. From Polis to Madina: Urban Change in Late Antique and Early Islamic Syria. In *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East.* Aldershot, Hants. Pp. 3–27.

Kennedy D. and Riley D. 1990. Rome's Desert Frontier from the Air. London. Pp. 100–104.

Kenyon K. 1974. *Digging up Jerusalem*. London.

Kindler A. 2002. Was Aelia Capitolina Founded Before or After the Outbreak of the Bar Kokhba War? A Numismatic Evidence. In D. Barag ed. *Studies in Memory of Leo Mildenberg*. Jerusalem. Pp. 176–179.

Kisilevitz S. and Greenwald R. 2012. New Discoveries in the Via Dolorosa: Excavation and a Survey in the Austrian Hospice and at the Vicinity of the "Ecce Homo" Arch. In D. Amit, G.D. Stiebel, O. Peleg-Barkat and D. Ben-Ami eds. *New Studies in the Archaeology of Jerusalem and Its Region. Collected Papers* 6. Jerusalem. Pp. 136–148 (Hebrew).

Kisilevitz S., Eirikh-Rose A., Khalaily H. and Greenhut Z. 2014. Moza, Tel Moza. *HA-ESI* 126. http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/Report_Detail_Eng.aspx?id=10582&mag_id=121 (accessed October 19, 2018).

Klein E. 2011. *Aspects of the Material-Culture of Rural Judea during the Late Roman Period (135–324 CE)*. Ph.D. Thesis. Bar-Ilan University, Ramat-Gan (Hebrew; English summary I–III).

Kloner A. 1975. A Painted Tomb on the Mount of Olives. *Qadmoniot* 29:27–30 (Hebrew).

Kloner A. 2001. *Survey of Jerusalem: The Northeastern Sector* (Archaeological Survey of Israel). Jerusalem.

Kloner A. 2002. Cremation Burials in Jerusalem as Evidence for Population Change. In E. Baruch and A. Faust eds. *New Studies on Jerusalem* 8:93–100 (Hebrew; English summary 13*).

Kloner A. 2006. The Dating of the Southern Decumanus of Aelia Capitolina and Wilson's Arch. In E. Baruch, Z. Greenhut and A. Faust eds. *New Studies on Jerusalem* 11:239–247 (Hebrew).

Kloner A. and Bar-Nathan R. 2017. The Eastern Cardo of Aelia Capitolina. In G. Avni and G.D. Stiebel eds. *Roman Jerusalem: A New Old City* (*JRA* Suppl. S. 105). Pp. 51–64.

Kloner A. and Zissu B. 2007. The Necropolis of Jerusalem in the Second Temple Period. (Interdisciplinary Studies in Ancient Culture and Religion 8). Leuven.

Kloner A. and Zissu B. 2010. A Street Pavement Along Lions Gate Street and its Dating to the First Century CE. In E. Baruch, A. Levy-Reifer and A. Faust eds. *New Studies on Jerusalem* 16:303–320 (Hebrew; English summary 34*).

Kloner. A, Klein E. and Zissu B. 2017. The Rural Hinterland (Territorium) of Aelia Capitolina. In G. Avni and G.D. Stiebel eds. *Roman Jerusalem: A New Old City* (*JRA* Suppl. S. 105). Pp. 131–141.

Kogan-Zehavi 1997. Jerusalem, Hashalshelet Street. *ESI* 16:104–106.

Kochavi M. 1964. The Burial Caves of Ramat Raḥel, 1962 Season. In Y. Aharoni. *Excavations at Ramat Raḥel Seasons 1961 and 1962*. Rome. Pp. 65–83.

Kochavi M. ed. 1972. *Judaea, Samaria and the Golan: Archaeological Survey 1967–1968*. Jerusalem (Hebrew).

Kolska-Horwitz L. *forthcoming*. Fauna from the Roman Deposits at the Cardo. In S. Weksler-Bdolah and A. Onn. *The Western Wall Plaza Excavations: The Eastern Cardo* (IAA Reports). Jerusalem.

Kowalski S.P. 1994. The Praetorium of the Camp of Diocletian in Palmyra. In M. Gawlikowski and S.K. Kowalski eds. *Studia Palmyrenskie* 9. Warsaw. Pp. 39–70.

Kowalski S.P. 1999. The Prefect's House in the Late Roman Legionary Fortress in Palmyra. *Etudes et Travauxs* 18:161–171.

Kraeling C.H. 1938. *Gerasa—City of the Decapolis*. New Haven.

Kümmel A. 1904. *Karte der Meterialien zur Topographie des Alten Jerusalem*. Leipzig.

Lander J. 1984. Roman Stone Fortifications: Variation and Change from First Century A.D. to the Fourth. (BAR Int. S. 206). Oxford.

Landes-Nagar A. 2016. Jerusalem, Beit Safafa (West). *HA-ESI* 127. http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/Report_Detail_Eng.aspx?id=20767&mag_id=122 (accessed October 19, 2018).

Lang D.M. ed. and trns. 1976. A Militant Ascetic: Peter the Iberian, Bishop of Mayuma by Gaza. In *Lives and Legends of the Georgian Saints, Selected and Translated from the Original Texts* (second edition). Oxford. Pp. 57–80.

Le Bohec Y. 1994 (English trans.) *The Imperial Roman Army*. London.

Lenoir M. 2002. Le camp de la legion III a Cyrenaica a Bostra: Rechereches récentes. In P. Freeman, J. Benett, Z.T. Fiema and B. Hoffmann eds. *Limes XVIII. Proceedings of the 18th International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies held in Amman, Jordan (September 2000)*. (BAR Int. S. 1084 [1]). Oxford. Pp. 175–184.

Levi D. and Be'eri R. 2011. Jerusalem, Binyanei Ha-Umma: Preliminary Report. *HA-ESI* 123. http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=1813&mag_id=118 (accessed October 19, 2018).

Levine L.I. 2002. *Jerusalem: Portrait of the City in the Second Temple Period (538 B.C.E.–70 C.E.)*. Philadelphia.

Limor O. 1998. *Holy Land Travels: Christian Pilgrims in Late Antiquity*. Jerusalem (Hebrew).

Lipschits O., Gadot Y., Arubas B. and Oeming M. 2017. *What are the Stones Whispering? Ramat Raḥel: 3000 Years of Forgotten History*. Winona Lake.

Macalister R.A.S. 1900. The Rock Cut Tombs in Wadi er-Rababi, Jerusalem. *PEFQSt.* 33:225–248.

Macalister R.A.S. 1906. The Supposed Fragment of the First Wall of Jerusalem. *PEFQSt.* 39:298–301.

Macalister R.A.S and Duncan J.G. 1926. *Excavations on the Hill of Ophel, Jerusalem 1923–1925*. (*Palestine Exploration Fund Annual*, 4). London.

MacDonald W.L. 1986. Connective Architecture. In *The Architecture of the Roman Empire. II. An Urban Appraisal.* New Haven and London. Pp. 32–73.

MacMullen R. 1959. Roman Imperial Building in the Provinces. *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* LXIV:207–235.

MacMullen R. 1963. *Soldier and Civilian in the Later Roman Empire*. Cambridge, MA.

MacMullen R. 1984. *Christianizing the Roman World* (*A.D. 100–400*). New-Haven.

Magen M. 1988. Recovering Roman Jerusalem: The Entry Beneath Damascus Gate. *BAR* 14:48–56.

Magen M. 1994. Excavations at the Damascus Gate, 1979–1984. In H. Geva ed. *Ancient Jerusalem Revealed.* Jerusalem. Pp. 281–286.

Magen Y. 2009. *Flavia Neapolis Sechechem in the Roman Period* I (Judea and Samaria Publications 11). Jerusalem.

Magen Y. and Kagan Y. 2012. *Corpus of Christian sites in Judea. Christians and Christianity* 2 (Judea and Samaria Publications 14). Jerusalem.

Magness J. 1993. *Jerusalem Ceramic Chronology: Circa 200–800 CE* (*JSOT*/ASOR Monograph Series 9). Sheffield.

Magness J. 2000. The North Wall of Aelia Capitolina. In L.E. Stager, J.A. Greene and M.D. Coogane eds. *The Archaeology of Jordan and Beyond. Essays in Honor of James A. Sauer*. Winona Lake. Pp. 328–339.

Magness, J. 2003. A Mithraeum in Jerusalem? In G.C. Bottini, L. Di Segni and L.D. Crupcala eds. *One Land—Many Cultures. Archaeological Studies in Honour of Stanislao Loffreda OFM* (Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Collectio Maior 41). Jerusalem. Pp. 163–171.

Magness J. 2005. The Roman Legionary Pottery from Binyanei Ha'Uma. In B. Arubas and H. Goldfus, dirs. and eds. *Excavations on the site of the Jerusalem International Convention Center* (*Binyanei Ha'Uma*)*: A Settlement of the Late First to Second Temple Period, The Tenth Legion's Kilnworks, and a Byzantine Monastic Complex; The Pottery and Other Finds*. (*JRA* Suppl. S. 60). Portsmouth, R.I. Pp. 69–191.

Magness J. 2011. Aelia Capitolina: A Review of Some Current Debates about Hadrianic Jerusalem. In K. Galor and G. Avni eds. *Unearthing Jerusalem: 150 Years of Archaeological Research in the Holy City*. Winona Lake. Pp. 313–324.

Mango C. 1992. The Temple Mount AD 614–638. In J. Raby and J. Johns eds. *Bayt Al-Maqdis, 'Abd al-Malik's Jerusalem*. Part 1. Oxford. Pp. 1–16.

Mattingly H. 1966. *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*. Volume III: *Nerva to Hadrian*. London.

Mauss C. 1888. *La piscine de Béthesda à Jérusalem*. Paris.

Mazar A. 2002. A Survey of the Aqueducts to Jerusalem. In D. Amit, J. Patrich and Y. Hirschfeld eds. *The Aqueducts of Israel* (*JRA* Suppl. S. 46). Portsmouth. Pp. 210–244.

Mazar B. 1969. The Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem: Preliminary Report of the First Season, 1968, Jerusalem. Pp. 1–21 (offprint, trans. by the Israel Exploration Society from an article in *Eretz Israel* 9:161–174).

Mazar B. 1975. The Archaeological Excavations near the Temple Mount. In Y. Yadin ed. *Jerusalem Revealed: Archaeology in the Holy City 1968–1974*. Pp. 25–40.

Mazar E. 1999. The Camp of the Tenth Roman Legion at the Foot of the South-West Corner of the Temple Mount Enclosure Wall in Jerusalem. In A. Faust and E. Baruch eds. *New Studies on Jerusalem* 5:52–67 (Hebrew).

Mazar E. 2003. *The Temple Mount Excavations in Jerusalem 1968–1978 Directed by Benjamin Mazar. Final Reports* II. *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Periods* (Qedem 43). Jerusalem. Pp. 3–85.

Mazar E. 2007a. *The Temple Mount Excavations in Jerusalem 1968–1978 Directed by Benjamin Mazar, Final Reports* III. *The Byzantine Period* (Qedem 46). Jerusalem.

Mazar E. 2007b. The Ophel Wall in Jerusalem in the Byzantine Period. In *The Temple Mount Excavations in Jerusalem 1968–1978 Directed by Benjamin Mazar. Final Reports* III. *The Byzantine Period* (Qedem 46). Jerusalem. Pp. 181–200.

Mazar E. 2011a. *The Temple Mount Excavations in Jerusalem 1968–1978 Directed by Benjamin Mazar, Final Reports* IV. *The Tenth Legion in Aelia Capitolina*. (Qedem 52). Jerusalem. Introduction: The Late Roman Period in the Temple Mount Excavations. Pp. 1–8; the Bathhouse in Area VII. Pp. 11–84; the Bakery in Area VII. Pp. 145–184; the Structure in Area I. Pp. 241–244.

Mazar E. 2011b. *The Walls of the Temple Mount*. Jerusalem.

Mazar E., Shalev Y. and Reuven P. 2011. The Chronological map—Dating the Construction Phases of the Temple Mount Walls. In Mazar E. *The Walls of the Temple Mount*. Jerusalem. Pp. 257–283.

Mazor G. 2007. Concerning the Urban Plan of Aelia Capitolina: Colonnaded Streets, Monumental Arches and City Gates. *Eretz-Israel* 28:116–124 (Hebrew; English Summary 13*).

Mazor G. 2015. A Magical Amulet from the Cemetery on Sallah ed-Din Street, Jerusalem. *'Atiqot* 80:127–132.

Mazor G. 2017. Monumental Arches and City Gates in Aelia Capitolina. In G. Avni and G.D. Stiebel eds. *Roman Jerusalem: A New Old City* (*JRA* Suppl. S. 105). Pp. 73–81.

McWhirr A.D. 1979. Origins of Legionary Tile Stamping in Britain. In A.D. McWhirr ed. *Roman Brick and Tile: Studies in Manufacture, Distribution and Use in the Western Empire. BAR* 68:253–259.

Merill S. 1886. Recent Discoveries at Jerusalem. *PEFQSt.* Pp. 23–24.

Meshorer Y. 1970. A Cache of Coins from the Area of Mount Hebron. In S. Dar ed. *Mount Hebron: Papers and Sources*. Tel Aviv. Pp. 67–69 (Hebrew).

Meshorer Y. 1989. *The Coinage of Aelia Capitolina* (Israel Museum Catalogue 301). Jerusalem.

Meshorer Y. 1999. The Coins of Aelia Capitolina. In Y. Tsafrir and S. Safrai eds. *The History of Jerusalem: The Roman and Byzantine Periods (70–638 CE)*. Jerusalem. Pp. 181–198 (Hebrew).

Michalowski K. 1970. *Palmyra*. London.

Mintzker Y. 1977. Notes to the Plan of Aelia Capitolina. In M. Broshi, U. El-Gad, M. Sofer and Y. Urbach eds. *Between Hermon and Sinai: Memorial to Amnon*. Jerusalem. Pp. 125–135 (Hebrew).

Mizrahi S. 2015. Moza Tahtit. *HA-ESI* 127. http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=24845&mag_id=122 (accessed October 19, 2018).

Mizrahi Y. 2005. ʿEin el-Hanniya. *HA-ESI* 117. http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/Report_Detail_Eng.aspx?id=143&mag_id=110 (accessed October 19, 2018).

Murphy-O'Connor J. 1994. The Location of the Capitol in Aelia Capitolina. *RB* 101–103:407–415.

Murphy-O'Connor J. 1997. Where was the Capitol in Roman Jerusalem? *Bible Review* 13 (6):22–29.

Nagar A. 2015. The Cemetery in Beit Safafa, Jerusalem: A Re-Examination in Light of the Excavations in 2013–2014. In E. Baruch and A. Faust eds. *New Studies on Jerusalem* 21. Pp. 221–235 (Hebrew; English summary 34*–35*).

Nagar Y. 2015. Skeletal Remains from the Excavations at Ketef Hinnom, Jerusalem. *ʿAtiqot* 80:55*–58* (Hebrew; English summary 143).

Negev A. 1964. The High Level Aqueduct at Caesarea. *IEJ* 14:237–249.

Newman H.I. 2014. The Temple Mount of Jerusalem and the Capitolium of Aelia Capitolina. In G.C. Bottini, L.D. Chrupcała and J. Patrich eds. *Knowledge and Wisdom: Archaeological and Historical Essays in Honour of Leah Di Segni*. Milan. Pp. 35–42.

Onn A. and Weksler-Bdolah S. 2010. Wilson's Arch and the Great Causeway in the Second Temple and Roman Periods in Light of Recent Excavations. *Qadmoniot* 140:109–122 (Hebrew).

Onn A. and Weksler-Bdolah S. 2017. The Temple Mount at the time of Aelia Capitolina—New Evidence from the "Giant Viaduct". In G. Avni and G.D. Stiebel eds. *Roman Jerusalem: A New Old City* (*JRA* Suppl. S. 105). Pp. 83–96.

Onn A., Weksler-Bdolah S. and Bar-Nathan R. 2011. Jerusalem, The Old City, Wilson's

Arch and the Great Causeway, Preliminary Report. *HA-ESI* 123. http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.asp?id=1738&mag_id=118 (accessed October 19, 2018).

Onn A. and Weksler-Bdolah S. 2016. Jerusalem, The Western Wall Tunnels. *HA-ESI* 128. http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/Report_Detail_Eng.aspx?id=25120&mag_id=124 (accessed October 19, 2018).

Onn A., Weksler-Bdolah S., Seligman J. and Rapuano Y. 2016. Two Interpretations of the Roman-Byzantine Peristyle House on the Shuʿfat Ridge (Ramat Shelomo), North of Jerusalem. In Patrich J., Peleg-Barkat O. and Ben-Yosef E. eds. *Arise, Walk Through the Land: Studies in Archaeology and History of the Land of Israel in Memory of Yizhar Hirschfeld on the Tenth Anniversary of his Demise*. Jerusalem. Pp. 121*–136*.

Patrich J. 2001. Urban Space in Caesarea Maritima, Israel. In T.S. Burns and J.W. Eadie eds. *Urban Centers and Rural Contexts in Late Antiquity*. Michigan. Pp. 77–110.

Patrich J. 2002. On the Lost Circus of Aelia Capitolina. *Scripta Classica Israelica* 21:173–178.

Patrich J. 2009. The Wall Street, the Eastern Stoa, the Location of the *Tetrapylon*, and the Halakhic Status of Caesarea Maritima (interpreting *Tosefta, Ahilot*, 18:13). In L. Di Segni, Y. Hirschfeld, J. Patrich and R. Talgam eds. *Man Near a Roman Arch: Studies Presented to Prof. Yoram Tsafrir*. Jerusalem. Pp. 142–168.

Patrich J. 2011. *Studies in the Archaeology and History of Caesarea Maritima. Caput Judaeae, Metropolis Palestinae*. Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity 77. Leiden. Boston.

Patrich J. 2016. An Overview on the Archaeological Work in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. In D. Vieweger and S. Gibson eds. *The Archaeology and History of the Church of the Redeemer and the Muristan in Jerusalem: A Collection of Essays from a Workshop on the Church of the Redeemer and its Vicinity held on 8th/9th September 2014 in Jerusalem*. Oxford. Pp. 139–162.

Patrich J. and Weksler-Bdolah S. 2016. The 'Free Masons Hall': A Composite Herodian Triclinium and Fountain to the West of the Temple Mount. In G.D. Stiebel, J. Uziel, K. Cytryn-Silverman, A. Re'em and Y. Gadot eds. *New Studies in the Archaeology of Jerusalem and its Region* 10. Jerusalem. Pp. 15*–38*.

Peleg-Barkat O. 2013. Art and Cult in Aelia Capitolina. In G.D. Stiebel, O. Peleg-Barkat, D. Ben-Ami, S. Weksler-Bdolah and Y. Gadot eds. *New Studies in the Archaeology of Jerusalem and Its Region. Collected Papers* 7. Jerusalem. Pp. 47–60 (Hebrew).

Petrikovits 1958. Vetera. In *RE* col. 1825.

Piccirillo M. and Alliata E. eds. 1999. *The Madaba Map Centenary 1897–1997, Travelling Through the Byzantine Umayyad Period. Proceedings of the International Conference Held in Amman, 7–9 April 1997*. Jerusalem.

Pinkerfeld J. 1960. 'David's Tomb': Notes on the History of the Building. Preliminary Report. In *L.M. Rabinowitz Fund for the Exploration of Ancient Synagogues. Bulletin III*. Jerusalem. Pp. 41–43.

Pollard N. 1996. The Roman Army as 'Total Institution' in the Near East? Dura-Europos as a Case Study. In D.L. Kennedy ed. *The Roman Army in the East* (*JRA* Suppl. S. 18). Pp. 211–227.

Pollard N. 2000. *Soldiers, Cities and Civilians in Roman Syria*. Ann Arbor.

Porath Y. 2002. The Water Supply to Caesarea: A Re-Assessment. In D. Amit, J. Patrich and Y. Hirschfeld eds. *The Aqueducts of Israel* (*JRA* Suppl. S. 46). Portsmouth, R.I. Pp. 104–129.

Porath Y. 2008. Caesarea. The Israel Antiquities Authority Excavations. *NEAEHL* 5:1663–1664.

Prag K. 1994. Two Cemetery Plans from East Jerusalem. In I. Eshel and K. Prag eds. *Excavations by K.M. Kenyon in Jerusalem 1961–1967*. IV. *The Iron Age cave Deposits on the South East Hill and Isolated Burials and Cemeteries Elsewhere*. Oxford. Pp. 249–252.

Prag K. 2008. *Excavations by K.M. Kenyon in Jerusalem 1961–1967* V. *Discoveries in Hellenistic to Ottoman Jerusalem*. Oxford.

Press J. 1952. *Eretz-Israel. A Topographical and Historical Encyclopedia* III. Jerusalem (Hebrew).

Pucci Ben Zeev M. 2005. *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil, 116/117 CE: Ancient Sources and Modern Insights*. Leuven-Dudley.

Pullan W. 1999. The Representation of the Late Antique City in the Madaba Map: The Meaning of the Cardo in the Jerusalem Vignette. In M. Piccirillo and E. Alliata eds. *The Madaba Map Centenary 1897–1997*. Jerusalem. Pp. 165–172.

Rahmani L.Y. 1999. *A Catalogue of Roman and Byzantine Lead Coffins From Israel*. Jerusalem.

Rakob F. 2000. The Making of Augustan Carthage. In E. Fentress ed. *Romanization and the City: Creation, Transformations and Failures* (*JRA* Suppl. S. 38). Pp. 73–82.

Rapuano Y. 2014. Appendix 1, The Pottery from the Pool from the Period of Aelia Capitolina in the Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem. In H. Geva ed. *Jewish Quarter Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem. Conducted by Nahman Avigad 1969–1982* VI: *Areas J, N, Z and Other Studies. Final Report*. Jerusalem. Pp. 427–436.

Ras K. 2017. The Late Roman Period Graveyard. In O. Lipschits, Y. Gadot, B. Arubas and M. Oeming eds. *What are the Stones Whispering? Ramat Raḥel: 3000 Years of Forgotten History*. Winona Lake. Pp. 133–135.

Ras K., Gadot Y. and Lipschits O. 2013. Was Shaft Tomb Burial Indeed a Burial Practice of the Jewish Common People? A View from Ramat Raḥel. In G.D. Stiebel, O. Peleg-Barkat, D. Ben-Ami, S. Weksler-Bdolah and Y. Gadot eds. *New Studies in the Archaeology of Jerusalem and Its Region. Collected Papers* 7. Jerusalem. Pp. 243–256 (Hebrew).

Re'em A. 2013. King David's Tomb on Mount Zion: Theories vs. the Archaeological Evidence. In G.D. Stiebel, O. Peleg-Barkat, D. Ben-Ami, S. Weksler-Bdolah and Y. Gadot eds. *New Studies in the Archaeology of Jerusalem and Its Region. Collected Papers* 7. Jerusalem. Pp. 221–242 (Hebrew).

Re'em A. 2018. *The Qishle excavation in the Old City of Jerusalem*. Jerusalem.

Reich R. 1987. Four Notes on Jerusalem. *IEJ* 37:158–167.

Reich R. 1990. *Jewish Ritual Baths in the Second Temple Period and in the Mishnaic and Talmudic Periods*. Phd. Diss. Hebrew University. Jerusalem.

Reich R. 2008. The Pool of Siloam, the Givʿati Parking Lot, the Dung Gate Area, the Huldah Gates Area. *NEAEHL* 5:1807–1809.

Reich R. 2011. *Excavating the City of David: Where Jerusalem's History Began*. Jerusalem.

Reich R. and Billig Y. 2000. A Group of Theatre Seats Discovered near the South-Western Corner of the Temple Mount. *IEJ* 50:175–184.

Reich R. and Billig Y. 2003 Another Flavian Inscription near the Temple Mount of Jerusalem. *ʿAtiqot* 44:243–247.

Reich R. and Billig Y. 2008. The Robinson Arch Area. *NEAEHL* 5:1809–1811.

Reich R. and Shukron E. 1994. Jerusalem, Mamilla. *ESI* 14:92–96.

Reich R. and Shukron E. 2011. The Pool of Siloam in Jerusalem of the Late Second Temple period and its surroundings. In K. Galor and G. Avni eds. *Unearthing Jerusalem: 150 Years of Archaeological Research in the Holy City*. Winona Lake. Pp. 241–255.

Reich R., Amit D. and Bar-Nathan R. 2014. Volume-Measuring Devices from the Late Second Temple Period. *Israel Numismatic Journal* 18:59–68.

Reuven P. 2011. A Comparative Analysis of the Bathhouse Plan. In E. Mazar. *The Temple Mount Excavations in Jerusalem 1968–1978 Directed by Benjamin Mazar; Final Reports* IV: *The Tenth Legion in Aelia Capitolina*. (Qedem 52) Jerusalem. Pp. 119–130.

Ritmeyer L. 2006. *The Quest Revealing the Temple Mount in Jerusalem*. Jerusalem.

Ritti T. 2004. Documenti Adriaei da Hierapolis di Frigia: Le Epistole di Adriano Alla Città, 1416. In Simone Follet ed. *L'Hellénisme d'époque romaine. Nouveaux documents, nouvelles approches (ier s. a.C.–iiie s. p.C.). Actes du Colloque international à la mémoire de Louis Robert. Paris, 7–8 juillet 2000*. Paris. Pp. 336–340.

Robinson E. 1867. *Biblical Researches in Palestine and the Adjacent Regions: A Journal of Travels in the Years 1838 & 1852* III. London.

Roll I. 1983. The Roman Road System in Judaea. *The Jerusalem Cathedra* 3. Pp. 136–161.

Roll I. 1994. Roman Roads. In Y. Tsafrir, L. Di Segni and J. Green. *Tabula Imperii Romani: Iudaea-Palaestina; Eretz Israel in the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Periods; Maps and Gazetteer*. Jerusalem. Pp. 21–22.

Rosenthal-Heginbottom R. 2015. The Kiln Works of the *Legio Decima Fretensis*: Pottery Production and Distribution. In L. Vagalinski and N. Sharankov eds. *Limes XXII, Proceedings of the 22nd International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies. Ruse, Bulgaria, September 2012* (*Bulletin of the National Institute of Archaeology*), XLII. Pp. 611–618.

Rosenthal-Heginbottom R. 2017. Tableware and Lamps from Roman Jerusalem: Selected Finds from the Eastern Cardo Dump. In G. Avni and G.D. Stiebel eds. *Roman Jerusalem: A New Old City* (*JRA* Suppl. S. 105). Pp. 23–40.

Roth J. 2002. The army and the economy in Judaea and Palestine. In P. Erdkamp ed. *The Roman Army and the Economy*. Amsterdam. Pp. 375–397.

Roussin L.A. 1995. East Meets West: the Mosaics of the Villa of ʿEin Yaʿel (Jerusalem). In P. Johnson, R. Ling and D.J. Smith eds. *Fifth International Colloquium on Ancient Mosaics* (*JRA* Suppl. S. 9, II). Ann Arbor. Pp. 30–42.

Rozenberg S. 2016. Fragments of a Roman-Period Wall Painting at ʿEn Yaʿal (Nahal Refa'im), Jerusalem. *ʿAtiqot* 87:77–79.

Rubin Z. 1999. Jerusalem in the Byzantine Period: An Historical Survey. In Y. Tsafrir and S. Safrai eds. *The History of Jerusalem: The Roman and Byzantine Periods* (*70–638 CE*). Jerusalem. Pp. 199–238 (Hebrew).

Russell K.W. 1980. The Earthquake of May 19 A.D. 363. *BASOR* 238:47–64.

Russell K.W. 1985. The Earthquake Chronology of Palestine and Northwest Arabia from the 2nd through the Mid-8th Century AD. *BASOR* 260:37–59.

Safrai S. 1999. The Jews of Jerusalem During the Roman Period. In Y. Tsafrir and S. Safrai eds. *The History of Jerusalem: The Roman and Byzantine Periods* (*70–638 CE*). Jerusalem. Pp. 15–34 (Hebrew).

Saller S.J. 1946. *Discoveries at St. John's, ʿEin Karim* (*1941–1942*) (SBF Collectio Maior 3). Jerusalem.

Salzmann A. 1856. *Jérusalem: étude et reproduction photographique des monuments de la Ville Sainte, depuis l'époque judaïque jusqu'à nos jours*. Paris.

Sapir N. 2015. Jerusalem, Mount Zion. *HA-ESI* 127. http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/Report_Detail_Eng.aspx?id=24863&mag_id=122 (accessed October 19, 2018).

Sauvaget J. 1949. Le Plan Antique de Damas. *Syria* 26:314–358.

Schäfer P. 1990. Hadrian's Policy in Judaea and the Bar Kokhba Revolt: A Reassessment. In P.R. Davies and R.T. White eds. *A Tribute to Geza Vermes*. Sheffield. Pp. 281–303.

Schäfer P. 2003. *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered: New Perspectives on the Second Jewish Revolt against Rome* (Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum 100). Tübingen.

Schick C. 1891. Searching for the St. Peter's (or Cock-Crow) Church on Zion. *PEFQSt*. 24:19–20.

Schumacher G. 1908. *Tell el-Mutesellim*. Leipzig. P. 175.

Schürer E. 1973. *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (*175 B.C.–A.D. 135*) I (revised and edited by G. Vermes, F. Millar and M. Goodman). Edinburgh.

Segal A. 1988. *Town Planning and Architecture in Provincia Arabia* (BAR Int. S. 419). Oxford.

Segal A. 1997. *From Function to Monument: Urban landscapes of Roman Palestine, Syria, and Provincia Arabia*. Oxford: Oxbow monograph, 66.

Segal I. 2015. Chemical and Isotopic Study of Lead-Based Objects from a Late Roman Tomb on Sallah ed-Din Street, Jerusalem. *ʿAtiqot* 80:133–138.

Séjourné P.-M. 1895. Chronique de Jérusalem. *RB* 4: 253–269.

Seligman J. 2011a. The Hinterland of Jerusalem during the Byzantine period. In K. Galor

and G. Avni eds. *Unearthing Jerusalem: 150 Years of Archaeological Research in the Holy City*. Winona Lake. Pp. 361–383.

Seligman J. 2011b. *The Rural Hinterland of Jerusalem in the Byzantine period*. Ph.D Thesis, University of Haifa. Haifa.

Seligman J. 2017. 'Absence of Evidence' or 'Evidence of Absence': Where was Civilian Aelia Capitolina and was Jerusalem the Site of the Legionary Camp? In G. Avni and G.D. Stiebel eds. *Roman Jerusalem: A New Old City* (*JRA* Suppl. S. 105). Pp. 107–116.

Shukrun E. and Reich R. 2007. Recently Discovered Remains of the Stepped Street that Ascends from the Pool of Siloam to the Temple Mount. In E. Meiron ed. *City of David Studies of Ancient Jerusalem* 2:13–25 (Hebrew).

Simons J.J. 1952. *Jerusalem in the Old Testament, Researches and Theories*. Leiden.

Singer K. 1993. Pottery of the Early Roman Period in Betar. *Tel Aviv* 20:98–103.

Sion O. and Puni S. 2011. Jerusalem, Jaffa Gate, Preliminary Report. *HA-ESI* 123. http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/Report_Detail_Eng.aspx?id=1779&mag_id=118 (accessed October 19, 2018).

Sion O. and Rapuano Y. 2014. A Pool from the Period of Aelia Capitolina in the Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem. In H. Geva *Jewish Quarter Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem. Conducted by Nahman Avigad 1969–1982* VI: *Areas J, N, Z and Other Studies. Final Report*. Jerusalem. Pp. 414–427.

Smallwood E.M. 1976. *The Jews Under Roman Rule*. Leiden.

Sklar-Parnes D.A., Rapuano Y. and Bar-Nathan R. 2004. Excavations in Northeast Jerusalem: A Jewish Site in Between the Revolts. In E. Baruch and A. Faust eds. *New Studies on Jerusalem* 10:35*–41*.

Stein A. 1990. Studies in Greek and Latin inscriptions on the Palestinian coinage under the Principate. Ph.D. Thesis, Tel Aviv University.

Stern M. 1974. *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* 1. *From Herodotus to Plutarch*. Jerusalem.

Stern M. 1980. *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* 2. *From Tacitus to Simplicius*. Jerusalem.

Stern M. 1984. *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* 3. *Appendixes and Indexes*. Jerusalem.

Stiebel G.D. 1995. The Whereabouts of the xth Legion and the Boundaries of Aelia Capitolina. In A. Faust and E. Baruch eds. *New Studies on Jerusalem* 5:68–103 (Hebrew).

Stiebel G.D. 2011. A Military Die from the Bakery. In E. Mazar ed. *The Temple Mount Excavations in Jerusalem 1968–1978 Directed by Benjamin Mazar, Final Reports* IV. *The Tenth Legion in Aelia Capitolina* (Qedem 52). Jerusalem. Pp. 229–231.

Stiebel G.D., Weigmann A., Rosenthal Y. and Isaac B. 2017. "One Day the Daughter of the Emperor was Passing": A Newly Discovered Milestone Inscription in the IX Mile of the Jerusalem–Bet Guvrin Roman Road. In Y. Gadot, Y. Zelinger, K. Cytrin-

Silverman and J. Uziel eds. *New Studies in the Archaeology of Jerusalem and its Region* 11. Jerusalem. Pp. 65–73 (Hebrew).

Storchan D.B. 2016. ʾEin Naqaʾa. Final Report. *HA-ESI* 128. http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/Report_Detail_Eng.aspx?id=24900&mag_id=124 (accessed October 19, 2018).

Stroumsa G.D. 1999. From Cyril to Sophronius: The Christian Literature of Byzantine Jerusalem. In Y. Tsafrir and S. Safrai eds. *The History of Jerusalem, The Roman and Byzantine Periods (70–638 CE)*. Jerusalem. Pp. 417–440 (Hebrew).

Sukenik E.L. and Mayer L.A. 1930. *The Third Wall: An Account of Excavations*. Jerusalem.

Talgam R. 2014. *Mosaics of Faith: Floors of Pagans, Jews, Samaritans, Christians, and Muslims in the Holy Land*. Jerusalem.

Talgam R. 2016. A Mosaic Floor with Xenia at ʿEn Yaʿal (Nahal Refaʾim), Jerusalem. *ʿAtiqot* 87:121*–126* (Hebrew; English summary 111–112).

Tchekhanovets Y. 2014. Jerusalem. Between Aelia Capitolina and Hagia Hierosolyma: "A Matter of Faith." In G.D. Stiebel, O. Peleg-Barkat, D. Ben-Ami and Y. Gadot eds. *New Studies in the Archaeology of Jerusalem and Its Region. Collected Papers* 8. Jerusalem. Pp. 72–82 (Hebrew).

Tepper Y. 2007. The Roman Legionary Camp at Legio, Israel: Results of an Archaeological Survey and Observations on the Roman Military Presence at the Site. In A.S. Lewin and P. Pellegrini eds. *The Late Roman Army in the Near East from Diocletian to the Arab Conquest* (BAR Int. S. 1717). Oxford. Pp. 57–71.

Tepper Y. and Tepper Y. 2013a. *The Road that Bears the People. Pilgrimage Roads to Jerusalem in the Second Temple Period*. Jerusalem–Tel-Aviv–Kibbutz Yagur (Hebrew; English summary I–IV).

Tepper Y. and Tepper Y. 2013b. The Stepped Ascents of the Pilgrims' Roads to Jerusalem in the Second Temple Period. In G.D. Stiebel, O. Peleg-Barkat, D. Ben-Ami, S. Weksler-Bdolah and Y. Gadot eds. *NSAJR* 7:195–206 (Hebrew)

Tepper Y., David J. and Adams M.J. 2016. The Roman VIth Legion Ferrata at Legio (el-Lajjun), Israel: Preliminary Report of the 2013 Excavation. *Strata. Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society* 34:91–123.

Thomsen P. 1917. Die römischen Meilensteine der Provinzen Syria, Arabia und Palaestina. *ZDPV* XL:1–142.

Tsafrir Y. 1975. *Zion—The Southwestern Hill of Jerusalem and Its Place in the Urban Development of the City in the Byzantine Period*. Ph.D. Thesis. Hebrew University. Jerusalem (Hebrew; English summary I–XI).

Tsafrir Y. 1984. *ERETZ ISRAEL from the Destruction of the Second Temple to the Muslim Conquest. Volume Two: Archaeology and Art*. Jerusalem (Hebrew).

Tsafrir Y. 1996. Some Notes on the Settlement and Demography of Palestine in the Byzantine Period, the Archaeological Evidence. In D. Seger ed. *Retrieving the Past: Essays on Archaeological Research and Methodology in Honor of Gus W. Van Beek*. Winona Lake. Pp. 269–284.

Tsafrir Y. 1999a. The Topography and Archaeology of Aelia Capitolina. In Y. Tsafrir and S. Safrai eds. *The History of Jerusalem: The Roman and Byzantine Periods* (*70–638 CE*). Jerusalem. Pp. 115–166 (Hebrew).

Tsafrir Y. 1999b. The Topography and Archaeology of Jerusalem in the Byzantine period. In Y. Tsafrir and S. Safrai eds. *The History of Jerusalem: The Roman and Byzantine Periods* (*70–638 CE*). Jerusalem. Pp. 281–351 (Hebrew).

Tsafrir Y. 2003. Numismatics and the Foundation of Aelia Capitolina. In P. Schäfer ed. *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered: New Perspectives on the Second Jewish Revolt against Rome* (Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum 100). Tubingen. Pp. 31–36.

Tsafrir Y. 2009. 70–638: The Temple-Less Mountain. In O. Grabar and B.Z. Kedar eds. *Where Heaven and Earth Meet. Jerusalem's Sacred Esplanade*. Jerusalem. Pp. 73–99.

Tsafrir Y. 2012. Between David's Tower and Holy Zion: Peter the Iberian and his Monastery in Jerusalem. In L.D. Chrupcala ed. *Christ is Here! Studies in Biblical and Christian Archaeology in Memory of Michele Piccirillo, OFM* (SBF Collectio Maior 52). Milan. Pp. 247–264.

Tsafrir Y., Di Segni L. and Green J. 1994. *Tabula Imperii Romani: Iudaea-Palaestina: Eretz Israel in the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Periods. Maps and Gazetteer*. Jerusalem.

Tsafrir Y. and Foerster G. 1994. From Scythopolis to Baysan: Changing Concepts of Urbanism. In G.R.D. King and A. Cameron eds. *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East, II, Land Use and Settlement Patterns* (*Papers of the Second Workshop on Late Antiquity and Early Islam*). *Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam* 1. Princeton. New Jersey. Pp. 95–116.

Tsafrir Y. and Foerster G. 1997. Urbanism at Scythopolis-Bet Shean in the Fourth to Seventh Centuries. *Dumberton Oaks Papers* 51:85–146.

Turler D., De Groot A. and Solar G. 1979. Jerusalem, Excavations between Damascus Gate and the New Gate. *Hadashot Arkheologiyot* 69/71:56–57 (Hebrew).

Tushingham A.D. 1985. *Excavations in Jerusalem 1961–1967* I. *Excavations in the Armenian Garden on the Western Hill*. Toronto. Pp. 60–107.

Tzaferis V. 1974. A Tower and Fortress near Jerusalem. IEJ 24(2):84–94.

Tzaferis V., Feig N., Onn A. and Shukrun E. 2000. Excavations at the Third Wall, North of the Jerusalem Old City. In H. Geva ed. *Ancient Jerusalem Revealed: Reprinted and Expanded Edition*. Jerusalem. Pp. 287–292.

Ussishkin D. 1993. Archaeological Sounding at Bethar, Bar Kokhba's Last Stronghold. *Tel Aviv* 20:66–97.

Ussishkin D. 2008. Betar. *NEAEHL* 5:1604–1605.

Uziel J., Lieberman T. and Solomon A. 2017. Two years of Excavation Beneath Wilson's Arch: New Discoveries and Ponderings. In Y. Gadot, Y. Zelinger, K. Cytrin-Silverman and J. Uziel eds. *New Studies in the Archaeology of Jerusalem and its Region* 11. Jerusalem. Pp. 239–261 (Hebrew).

Vetrali L. 1968. Le iscrizioni dell'acquedotto romano presso Betlemme. *LA* 17:149–161.

Vincent L.H. 1901. Un nouveau milliaire sur la voie romaine de Jérusalem a Naplouse. *RB* 10:96–106.

Vincent L.H. 1902. La deuxième enceinte de Jérusalem. *RB* 11:31–57.

Vincent L.H. 1912. *Jérusalem: Recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire*. I: *Jerusalem antique*. Paris.

Vincent L.H. and Abel F.M. 1914–1926. *Jérusalem: Recherches de topographi, d'archéologie et d'histoire*. II: *Jérusalem nouvelle*. Paris.

Vincent L.H. and A.M. Steve 1954. *Jerusalem de l'Ancien Testament*. Paris.

Wagner J. 1976. *Seleukeia am Euphrat Zeugma*. Weisbaden.

Wagner J. 1977. Legio IIII Scythica in Zeugma am Euphrat. In Studien zu den Militärgenzen Roms, 2. Vorträge des 10. *Internationalen Limeskongresses in der Germania Inferior*. Cologne. Pp. 517–539.

Ward-Perkins B. 1984. *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages, Urban Public Building in Northern and Central Italy AD 300–850*. New York.

Ward-Perkins J.B. 1977. *Roman Architecture*. New York.

Ward-Perkins J.B. 1981. *Roman Imperial Architecture*. Harmondsworth.

Warren C. 1881–1884. *Plans, Elevations, Sections Showing the Results of the Excavations at Jerusalem, 1867–1870. Executed for the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund*. London.

Warren C. and Conder C.R. 1884. *The Survey of Western Palestine* III: *Jerusalem*. London.

Watzinger 1935. *Denkmäler Palästinas: eine Einfèurung in die Archäologie des Heiligen Landes*. 1: *Von den Anfaengen bis zum Ende der israelitische Königszeit*. 2: *Von der Herrschaft der Assyrer bis zur arabischen Eroberung*. Leipzig.

Weber T. 1989. Umm Qeis—Gadara. In D. Homes-Fredericq and J.B. Hennessy eds. *Archaeology of Jordan—Field Reports* II/2 (*Akkadica Supplementum* VIII). Leuven. Pp. 597–611.

Weiss Z. and Netzer E. 1997. Architectural Development of Sepphoris during the Roman and Byzantine Periods. In D.R. Edwards and C.T. McCollough *Archaeology and the Galilee: Texts and Contexts in the Graeco-Roman and Byzantine Periods*. Atlanta. Pp. 117–130.

Weksler-Bdolah S. 1998. Burial Caves and Installations of the Second Temple Period at the Har Hazofim Observatory (Mt. Scopus, Jerusalem). *'Atiqot* 35:23*–54* (Hebrew; English summary 161–163).

Weksler-Bdolah S. 2006–2007. The Fortifications of Jerusalem in the Byzantine Period. *ARAM* 18–19:85–112.

Weksler-Bdolah S. 2007a. Jerusalem, 'En Ya'el. *HA-ESI* 119. http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/Report_Detail_Eng.aspx?id=563&mag_id=112 (accessed October 19, 2018).

Weksler-Bdolah S. 2007b. Reconsidering the Byzantine Period City Wall of Jerusalem. *Eretz-Israel* 28 (Volume Teddy Kollek). Pp. 88–101 (Hebrew; English summary 12*).

Weksler-Bdolah S. 2011a. *The Main Streets in Southeastern Jerusalem in the Roman Period and Their Role in the Development of Aelia Capitolina in the Second to Fourth Centuries CE, Focusing on the Excavations Along the Eastern Colonnaded Street and the 'Wilson Bridge' ('Great Causeway')*. Ph.D. Thesis. Hebrew University. Jerusalem (Hebrew; English abstract v–xxiii).

Weksler-Bdolah S. 2011b. Early Islamic and Medieval City Walls of Jerusalem in Light of New Discoveries. In K. Galor and G. Avni eds. *Unearthing Jerusalem: 150 Years of Archaeological Research in the Holy City*. Winona Lake. Pp. 417–451.

Weksler-Bdolah S. 2013. Jerusalem's City Wall and Gates South of the Siloam Pool: New Discoveries. In G.D. Stiebel, O. Peleg-Barkat, D. Ben-Ami, S. Weksler-Bdolah and Y. Gadot eds. *New Studies in the Archaeology of Jerusalem and its Region. Collected Papers* 7. Jerusalem. Pp. 171–194 (Hebrew).

Weksler-Bdolah S. 2014a. The Tenth Legion's Camp: Nonetheless on the Southwestern Hill. In E. Baruch and A. Faust eds. *New Studies on Jerusalem, Collected Papers* 20: 219–238 (Hebrew; English summary 48–50).

Weksler-Bdolah S. 2014b. The Foundation of Aelia Capitolina in Light of New Excavations along the Eastern Cardo. *IEJ* 64:38–62.

Weksler-Bdolah S. 2014c. The Environs of the Temple Mount Between its Destruction in 70 CE and Madaba Map: The Archaeological Evidence from Southeastern Jerusalem. In G.D. Stiebel, O. Peleg-Barkat, D. Ben-Ami and Y. Gadot eds. *New Studies in the Archaeology of Jerusalem and Its Region. Collected Papers* 8. Jerusalem. Pp. 190–209 (Hebrew).

Weksler-Bdolah S. 2015. The Role of the Temple Mount in the Layout of Aelia Capitolina: The Capitolium After All. *Eretz-Israel* 31 (Ehud Netzer Volume). Pp. 126–137 (Hebrew; English summary 186*–187*).

Weksler-Bdolah S. 2016. A Villa and a Pottery Kiln from the Late Roman–Byzantine Periods at 'En Ya'al (Nahal Refa'im), Jerusalem. *'Atiqot* 87:71*–119* (Hebrew, English summary 107–110).

Weksler-Bdolah S. 2017. A Plan of Jerusalem (Aelia Capitolina) in the 4th c. A.D. In G. Avni and G.D. Stiebel eds. *Roman Jerusalem: A New Old City*. (*JRA* Suppl. S. 105). Pp. 7–9.

Weksler-Bdolah S. 2018. The Western Cardo of Aelia Capitolina, the Decumanus, and the Starting Point of the Imperial Roads. In G. Mazor and E. Baruch eds. *Jerusalem and Eretz-Israel A Journal for Land of Israel Studies and Archaeology, Studies in Honour of Prof. Shimon Dar* 10–11. Pp. 211–230 (Hebrew; English summary p. 66*).

Weksler-Bdolah S. and Di Segni L. *in prep.* An Unknown Latin Epitaph of a soldier from Menachem Magen's Excavations at the Damascus Gate.

Weksler-Bdolah S. and Levi D. *in prep.* 'Café Bashoura': The Starting Point of the Imperial Roads in Jerusalem.

Weksler-Bdolah S. and Onn A. 2017. Colonnaded Streets in Aelia Capitolina: New Evi-

dence from the Eastern Cardo. In G. Avni and G.D. Stiebel eds. *Roman Jerusalem: A New Old City* (*JRA* Suppl. S. 105). Pp. 10–22.

Weksler-Bdolah S. and Rosenthal-Heginbottom R. 2014. Two Aspects of the Transformation of Jerusalem into the Roman Colony of Aelia Capitolina. In G.C. Bottini, L.D. Chrupcała and J. Patrich eds. *Knowledge and Wisdom: Archaeological and Historical Essays in Honour of Leah Di Segni*. Milan. Pp. 43–61.

Weksler-Bdolah S. and Szanton N. 2014. Jerusalem, Silwan. *HA-ESI* 126. http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/Report_Detail_Eng.aspx?id=10572&mag_id=121 (accessed October 19, 2018).

Wharton A.J. 1995. *Refiguring the Post Classical City, Dura Europus, Jerash, Jerusalem and Ravenna*. Cambridge.

Wiegand T. 1932. *Palmyra: Ergebnisse der Expedition von 1902 und 1917*. Berlin. Pp. 82 ff. Pls. 9–10.

Wightman G.J. 1989. *The Damascus Gate, Jerusalem. Excavations by C.-M. Bennett and J.B. Hennessy at the Damascus Gate, Jerusalem, 1964–1966* (BAR Int. S. 519). Oxford.

Wightman G.J. 1993. *The Walls of Jerusalem from the Canaanites to the Mamluks. Mediterranean Archaeology, Supplements*, 4. Sydney.

Wilkinson J. 1975. The Streets of Jerusalem. *Levant* 7:118–136.

Wilkinson J. 1976. Christian Pilgrims in Jerusalem during the Byzantine Period. *PEQ* 107:75–101.

Wilkinson J. 1999. *Egeria's Travels to the Holy Land* (3rd edition). Oxford.

Wilkinson J. 2002. *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*. Warminster.

Wilson C.W. 1865. *Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem. I. Notes; II. Photographs; III. Maps*. London.

Wilson C.W. 1880. The Masonry of the Haram Wall. *PEQ* 12:21–30.

Wilson C.W. 1905. The Camp of the Tenth Legion at Jerusalem and the City of Aelia. *PEFQSt*. 37:138–144.

Wilson C.W. 1906. *Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre*. London.

Wilson C.W. and Warren C. 1871. *The Recovery of Jerusalem: A Narrative of Exploration and Discovery in the City and the Holy Land*. London.

Winter T. 1996a. The Glass Vessels. In G. Avni and Z. Greenhut. *The Akeldama Tombs* (IAA Reports 1). Jerusalem. Pp. 95–104.

Winter T. 1996b. Jewelry and Miscellaneous Objects. In G. Avni and Z. Greenhut. *The Akeldama Tombs* (IAA Reports 1). Jerusalem. Pp. 109–116.

Winter T. 2015. Late Roman Funerary Customs in Light of the grave Goods from the Cemetery on Sallah ed-Din Street, Jerusalem. *'Atiqot* 80:81–123.

Zelinger Y. 2010. Jerusalem, the Slopes of Mount Zion. *HA-ESI* 122. http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/Report_Detail_Eng.aspx?id=1530&mag_id=117 (accessed October 19, 2018).

Zelinger Y. 2011. Jerusalem, Mount Zion. *HA-ESI* 123. http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/Report_Detail_Eng.aspx?id=1907&mag_id=118 (accessed October 19, 2018).

Zelinger Y. 2014. Jerusalem, The Old City, Aderet Eliyahu Yeshiva. Final Report. *HA-ESI* 126. http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/Report_Detail_Eng.aspx?id=8529 (accessed October 19, 2018).

Zelinger Y. 2015. Changes in the Rural Settlement Patterns around Jerusalem: A View from Kh. Al ʿAdassa. In G.D. Stiebel, O. Peleg-Barkat, D. Ben-Ami and Y. Gadot eds. *New Studies in the Archaeology of Jerusalem and Its Region. Collected Papers* 9. Jerusalem. Pp. 107–117 (Hebrew).

Zias J. 1996. Anthropological Analysis of Human Skeletal Remains. In G. Avni and Z. Greenhut. *The Akeldama Tombs*. (IAA Reports 1). Jerusalem. Pp. 117–121.

Zilberbod I. 2014. Ein el-Hanniya. Final Report. *HA-ESI* 126. http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/Report_Detail_Eng.aspx?id=14707 (accessed October 19, 2018).

Zissu B. and Moyal H. 1998. Jerusalem, Beit Safafa (West). *ESI* 18:94–95.

Index

Abu Ghosh, Abu Gosh 19, 175, 183–184
ʿEin ʿArub 150
ʿEin el-Hanniya 198–199
ʿEin Naqaʿa 184
ʿEn Yaʿel, see also: ʿAin Yalo 189–193, 198, 200, 205–206
aedes 117, 143
Aela 21, 43, 208
Akeldama 151, 165–167, 198
Alexander Nevsky Hostel 68, 70–73, 124
Al-Khanka Street 68
Aleppo 108
Al-Qubab 20
amphoda, amphodarch, amphodon 65, 114–115
anabathmoi 111–112
Antipatris 179
Antonia Fortress 102, 149
Antoninus, It. AP, see also: Piacenza Pilgrim 16, 64, 112–113
Apollodorus of Damascus 57–58
Appian of Alexandria 14, 58
aqueduct 19–20, 24, 35, 149–150, 199
Aramaic 201, 205
archives (Herodian) 3
arcosolia 166, 168
Aristo of Pella 15
Armenian Garden 17, 24, 33, 135, 138
Armenian Quarter 22, 33, 44, 134
army camp, see also: military camp, legionary camp 3, 6, 13–14, 19, 22–24, 26, 28, 32, 36, 38, 42–43, 45, 48, 51, 55, 64, 71, 97, 119, 129, 134, 137, 145, 162, 171, 178, 180, 182, 201, 207
Artemis, also: Diana 159–160
Asclepius 115, 126, 143, 149, 204, 206
Ashqelon 184
Assyrian Church, see also: St. Mark 33
Augusta Victoria 166, 176
Austrian Hospice 76, 130

bakery 19, 23, 49, 126, 129
Bar Kokhba, Bar Kokhba Revolt, Bar Kokhba War 4–5, 51–54, 57–58, 60, 90, 169, 187–188, 197, 206
basilica 64, 73, 124, 144, 200, 208
Bashourah, Café Bashourah, Gate of Bashourah 26, 28–29, 32, 174–177, 180, 182
bathhouse, bathhouses 3, 23, 34, 48–49, 110–111, 126, 128–129, 146, 186–187, 189, 194, 208
Beit HaBad/ Khan e-Zeit 28, 67–71
Beit Tsafafa 195, 197
Bet Ḥoron 172, 181, 187
Bet Neqofa 184
Bet She'an—Scythopolis 18, 108, 143, 179
Betar, see also: Bethar, Khirbet el-Yahud 51, 58, 175, 187–188
Bezeta Valley 147–148
Binyanei Ha-Umma, see also: Binyene Ha-Umma, Givʿat Ram, Sheikh Badr 19, 34, 38, 47–50, 169, 184, 186
Bircat HaTorah Yeshiva 33, 42
Birket el-Hamra 147
Birket Isra'il 148
Birket Hammam el-Batrak 149
Bordeaux, pilgrim of, see also: Itinerary of the Bordeaux Pilgrim 15, 32, 64, 111, 117, 123, 137, 143, 147–149
Bostra 32, 45, 66, 112
bread stamp, bread stamps 18–19, 38, 44, 129, 206
Britain 48, 158, 162
bulla 194
Butchers' Market, see also: Soûq e-Lachmin 67, 69, 71

Caesarea 15, 18–20, 46, 143, 179
Café Bashourah 26
canaba, canabae legionis 207
Capitolium 38, 116–118, 124
Casa Nova Hostel 161
Cassius Dio, also: *Roman History* 14, 38, 51, 55, 57–58, 110–111, 117, 169
Cave of Jehoshaphat 203
centuria 19–20, 24, 40, 44
Chabad-HaYehudim Street, see also: Chabad Street, HaYehudim Street 26–27, 32, 69–70
Charon's obol 159, 165

Christian Quarter, Christian Quarter Street, see also: HaNotsrim, Hâret en-Naşârâ 22, 73–75, 109, 161
Christianization, see also: Christianity XI, 5, 110, 131, 141–146, 202, 205, 208
Chronicon (*Eusebius*) 63
Chronicon Paschale, Chronicon 6, 15, 51, 65, 110–111, 114, 124, 148
churches
Church of Eleone 144
Church of Gethsemane 144
Church of Holy Zion, Hagia Sion 35, 136, 143
Church of St. James 134
Church of St. John the Baptist 73
Church of St. Menas 134
Church of the Ascension 144
Church of the Holy Sepulchre, see also: *anastasis, martyrium* 23, 68, 72, 111, 123–124, 142–145, 208
Church of the Tomb of the Virgin Mary 144
cist tomb, also: pit grave, shaft tomb 151, 153–154, 162, 186, 194, 195, 203
Citadel 1, 6, 17, 22, 24, 29, 33, 42, 134, 138, 140, 149, 184
city council, city councilors 45, 63, 206
City of David 3–4, 17, 64, 130–131, 133, 138, 144
Cologne 32
Constantinople 112
Cotton Merchants' Market, also: Soûq el-Qattânin 78, 81
council chamber 3
cremation, cremation burial 151, 155, 163, 165, 203
Crowne Plaza 48–49, 184–185
Cyril of Jerusalem, Cyril 115, 145

David Street 67, 69, 74, 96
David's Tomb 32, 35, 136, 144
demosia 110
Derech Sha'ar HaArayot/ṭarîq Bab Sitty Mariam, also: Via Dolorosa 18, 65, 68, 76, 99–101, 104–107, 125–126, 130, 148, 202
Diaspora Revolt 52, 179
Diocaesarea 179
Diocletian 5, 21, 47
Dionysus 126
Diospolis, also: Lod 20, 172, 174, 175, 181, 183–184, 187
dodekapylon 111–112
Dominus Flevit Church 166
Dung Gate 60, 64, 74–75, 92, 94–95
Dura Europos 31, 45, 195

earthquake 131, 133, 140, 144–146
Ecce Homo 18, 65, 100–101, 104–106, 108, 149, 206
Egeria 144
Elagabalus 54
Eleutheropolis, also: Bet Guvrin 171–172, 179, 181, 187, 189, 197–198
el-Jai cave 53–54
Emmaus 20, 169, 172, 175, 179, 181, 183–184
Emperor Constantine, Constantine xi, 15, 73, 113, 118, 123–124, 131, 142–144, 204–205
Emperor Hadrian 3, 44, 51, 56
Emperor Julian, Julian 117–118, 133
Emperor Maximilian 165
Empress Eudocia, Eudocia 138, 144
Epiphanius of Salamis 15, 51
Esh Ha-Torah Yeshiva 91
Eucherius 16
Eusebius, Eusebius of Caesarea 15, 51, 63, 91, 113, 123–124, 171
Exeter 48

First Temple period 151, 164
First Wall 1, 26, 29–30, 147, 207
Flavia Neapolis, Neapolis 171–172, 174, 179–181, 187, 195
forum 23, 47, 68, 71–74, 90, 100, 111, 124, 143, 144, 149, 208
fountain 3, 111, 189, 200
Fourth Legion 48

Gadara—Umm Qeis 108
Gate of Bashourah 28
Gennath Gate 26
Geographia 55
Gerasa, Jerash 18, 56, 62, 66, 108–109, 112, 152
Gihon Spring 1, 147
Giv'at Sha'ul 183, 187

Givʿat Ram, also: Sheikh Badr, Binyanei Ha-Umma 19, 34, 38, 47–50, 169, 184, 186
Givʿati Parking Lot 50, 133, 140, 145
Gofna 172, 179
Golgotha 124
Great Causeway, see also: Giant Viaduct, Wilson's Bridge 35, 82, 84, 97–99, 119, 126, 129, 146, 149, 180, 209
Great Revolt 1, 36, 169, 172, 187

Hada 145
HaGai, also: El-Wad Street 74–76, 78, 80–82, 84, 90, 99, 130
Hagia Sion, also: Holy Zion 35, 136, 143
Hammat Gader 108
Hasmonean 1, 138, 183, 185
Hasmonean palace 1
Hebron 53, 171–172, 176, 179, 181, 194
Helena (Queen of Adiabene) 112–114
Helena Augusta (the mother of Constantine the Great) 144
Herodian period 1, 183
Herod's palace 1, 6, 22–24, 60
Hezekiah's Pool, also: *Amygdalon*, Birket *Hammam el-Batrak* 149–150
Hierapolis, Pamukkale 55, 231
Hinnom Valley 14, 63, 147, 151, 163–165
Hippicus 1, 4, 58, 207
Hippolytus 37
Hippos 18, 179
Historia Augusta 46
Holy Sepulchre 23, 68, 72, 111, 123–124, 145
Horvat Hazon 48
Horvat Mezad 183
House of Caiaphas 136

Iamnia 179
imperial road 28–29, 71, 153, 169, 171–177, 179–182
insulae 187

Jaffa 179
Jaffa Gate 1, 17, 22, 60, 63, 96, 138, 149–150, 163, 202
Jerash, Gerasa 18, 56, 62, 66, 108–109, 112, 152
Jericho Road 166, 172, 179, 181
Jerome 43, 63, 113, 118, 123–124, 208
Jewish Temple 1, 3, 37, 60, 117–119, 122, 133, 201
John Moschus, *Pratum spirituale* 118
Josephus, Josephus Flavius 1, 3–4, 14, 19, 21–22, 24, 26, 37, 43, 58, 111, 113, 149, 169, 185
Judaea 4, 37, 44, 53–54, 57, 171–172, 179–180
Jupiter 15, 38, 51, 58, 110, 116–119, 122–123, 126, 204, 206
Jupiter Serapis 126, 206
Justinian, Emperor Justinian 90, 121

katholikon 124
Kefar ʿOtnay 137
Kefar Hananya 48
Ketef Hinnom 151–153, 163–164, 198
Khirbet el-Yahud, also: Betar, Bethar 51, 58, 175, 187, 188
Kidron, also: Valley of Jehoshaphat 144, 147–148, 165
kokhim-type (burial cave) 3

latrines 111, 126, 128–129
Legio, Legio VI Ferrata 43, 48, 137, 179
Legio X Fretensis 19, 21, 23, 43, 47, 207, 209
legionary camp, see also: army camp, military camp 3, 6, 13–14, 19, 22–24, 26, 28, 32, 36, 38, 42–43, 45, 48, 51, 55, 64, 71, 97, 119, 129, 134, 137, 145, 162, 171, 178, 180, 182, 189, 201, 207
Lifta 184
Lions Gate 60, 65, 99–100, 148, 152, 166
Lithostrotos 101–103, 106, 149
Lower City 1, 4, 145
Lucius Verus 179
Lutheran Hostel 29

Madaba map, see also: Madaba mosaic 5, 14, 18, 64–66, 74, 96, 99, 112, 131, 138, 144, 174, 179, 202
Mahkame 126
Mamilla parking lot 163
Manaḥat 195
Marcus Aurelius 174–175, 179, 184
Mariame, Miriam 4
mausoleum, mausoleums 152, 161, 163, 166, 203
Maximianopolis 137
Megiddo 137

Meleke 85
milestone, milestones 18, 44, 172, 174–182, 184
military camp, see also: army camp, legionary camp 3, 6, 13–14, 19, 22–24, 26, 28, 32, 36, 38, 42–43, 45, 48, 51, 55, 64, 71, 97, 119, 129, 134, 137, 145, 162, 171, 178, 180, 182, 201, 207
Minerva 51, 110, 116
Mishnah 51
Mithras 126
mizzi hilu 76, 80, 85
moat 26, 31, 149
Mount of Olives 118, 144, 166
Moẓa/Colonia, also: Tel Moẓa 185–186
Muristan 23
murum Sion, Wall of Sion 32, 137

Nabatean 184
Nablus Road 153
Nahal Refa'im, also: Refa'im Valley 49, 181, 187–189, 195, 197–199
Nea Church 134
Neapolis 171–172, 174, 179–181, 187, 195
necropolis, *necropoleis* 3, 130, 151, 163, 166, 197, 199, 203
Nicopolis 179
nymphaeum 175, 199–200

odeon 17, 111
Ohel Yitzhak 81, 109
Ophel 4, 17, 23, 130–131, 133, 138, 141, 144, 206
orthogonal design, orthogonal layout 3, 18, 60, 65, 71, 106, 126, 129, 201–202
Ottoman Wall 6, 17, 33, 92–95, 138, 162, 209

Palmyra 24, 31, 45, 108, 195
Paneas 179
Paula, Paulae 16, 113, 133
Paulus 15
Paulinos of Nola 43, 208
Peter the Iberian 15
Phasael 1, 4, 29,
Philippopolis 108
pit grave, also: shaft tomb, cist tomb 151, 153–154, 162, 186, 194, 195, 203
Polybius 43
Pool of Bethesda, also: *probatica*, Sheep Pool 115, 126, 143, 148–149, 204, 206
Pool of Siloam, Siloam Pool 3–4, 93, 111, 130, 147–149, 208
porta David 63
porta Purga 63
pottery workshop, workshop 19, 47–50, 169, 184–186
principia 19
probatica, also: *Sheep Pool, Pool of Bethesda* 115, 126, 143, 148–149, 204, 206
Probus 46
propylaeum 72–73, 87, 90, 128
Ptolemais 179
Ptolemy 54

quadra 111
quadrifons 71
Queen Helena 1, 113–114
Quietus 37

Rabbel II 184
Ramat Raḥel 49, 194–195, 198
Rapidum 137
ritual bath, ritual baths 1, 3, 36, 185, 187, 201, 204
Robinson's Arch 49, 111, 129, 146
Rockefeller Museum 155
Roman camp, Roman camps 31–33, 42
Roman dump 20, 34, 38, 40–41, 48, 204

Saint George's Anglican Cathedral 161
Salah e-Din Street 153
Samosata 48
sarcophagi 151
Scythopolis—Bet She'an 18, 108, 143, 179
Sebastia 108
Second Legion 48, 162, 206
Second Legion Augusta 162
Second Wall 1, 149
Septimus Severus 64
Serapis 126, 143, 149, 204, 206
Severan Dynasty 179
shaft tomb, also: cist tomb, pit grave 151, 153–154, 162, 186, 194, 195, 203
Sheikh Badr, also: Givʿat Ram, Binyanei Ha-Umma 19, 34, 38, 47–50, 169, 184, 186
Shuʿfaṭ Ridge, also: Kh. Er-Ras 194, 196
Shuʿfaṭ 54, 174, 187
Silsilah Street, also: Street of the Chain 35

Sisters of Zion Convent 100–101, 103, 105–106, 149
Sixteenth Legion Flavia Firma 48
Sixth Legion Ferrata 48
Solomon's Pools 150, 176
southeast hill 1
Sozomenus 117
St. Mark Street 26, 27, 29
St. Peter in Galicanto 137
starting point 28–29, 71, 172, 174–182
Street of the Chain, also: Silsilah Street
Struthion Pool 100, 149
synagogue, synagogues 3, 32, 34, 81

tabula ansata 44, 161, 183
ṭarîq Bab Sitty Mariam/Derech Sha'ar HaArayot, also: Via Dolorosa 18, 65, 68, 76, 99–101, 104–107, 126, 130, 148, 202
Tel Megiddo 137
Tel el-Ful 187
Temple of Venus/Aphrodite 73, 91, 123–125, 142
Temple of Jupiter, Jupiter 15, 38, 51, 58, 110, 116–119, 122–123, 126, 204, 206
tetranymphon 110–111, 148
tetrapylon 28, 71, 96, 179, 180
Theodoretos 117
Theodosian ban 142–143
Theodosius 16, 142, 144
Third Legion Cyrenaica 126, 206
Third Wall, also: 'Sukenik-Mayer' Wall 1, 14, 56, 151, 153, 161
Titus 4, 37, 58, 60, 161, 178
Tomb of the Sons of Hezeer 203
Tomb of Zechariah 203
Tombs of the Kings 151, 155, 198
tombstone, tombstones 18, 20, 130, 162
Tower of David 1, 29, 31, 43
Trajan, Emperor Trajan 37, 46, 126, 174
Transversal Valley 63, 96, 147, 149
triclinium, triclinia 3, 189
trikamaron 110–111, 124
triumphal arch 4, 56, 60–61, 65, 101–102, 208
Tsaba'im Market (ḥâret ed-Dabbâghîn) 71
Twelfth Legion 162, 206
Tyche, see also: Astarte 43, 124–125
Tyropoeon Valley 35–36, 74–75, 91, 108, 147, 149

Ulpianus 15
Umayyad Palaces 64, 120
Umayyad period 122, 133
Upper City 1, 3, 4, 6, 22, 39, 201, 207

Vespasian 37, 44, 60, 178
Via Dolorosa, also: Derech Sha'ar HaArayot/ṭarîq Bab Sitty Mariam 18, 65, 68, 76, 99–101, 104–107, 126, 130, 148, 202
via praetoria 32
via principalis 32, 64, 70–71, 96, 180
villa rustica 194–196

Western Cardo 23, 33–34, 64, 66–71, 74, 96, 107–109, 134, 202
Western Wall Tunnels 17, 21
Wilson's Arch 17, 35, 97, 111, 129, 146, 202

Xenia 193–194
Xiphilinos 14

YMCA 152, 163

Zeugma 48, 161, 205
Zeus 43, 206
Zion Gate 64, 126
Zion, Mount 3, 6, 16, 22, 29, 31–32, 35, 93, 108, 130, 134, 136, 138, 209
Zippori 18, 108, 109